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THE CONFERENCE.

IT is probably true that the Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople have agreed on certain conclusions, though it is not known how far general propositions have been reduced to detail. It is at least possible that the practical application of an acknowledged principle might raise more unmanageable issues than the original rule to which all parties had consented. An occupation, for instance, of a Turkish province might be approved by Governments which would utterly reject the proposal of despatching a Russian force to Bulgaria. The whimsical contrivance of a Belgian army of occupation seems to have represented some abortive attempt at a compromise. The concert which has been in some way established was naturally followed by a demand that the Porte should accept the terms dictated by the Plenipotentiaries. This step, with its natural consequences, was probably translated by the compilers of telegraphic news into the statement that Lord SALISBURY accompanied the presentation of the resolutions to the GRAND VIZIER with an open and ill-timed threat. If the proposals of the Powers were summarily refused by the Porte, it seems to follow that the Plenipotentiaries must at once retire from the scene of their unsuccessful labours. That the English Government would not hesitate to express its displeasure in the form which is the last resort of diplomacy may be inferred from the contingent decision formed some months ago on a similar occasion by Lord DERBY. If the English demand for an armistice were rejected, Sir HENRY ELLIOT was instructed to withdraw from Constantinople with the whole staff of the Embassy. MIDHAT PASHA cannot but know that a refusal to consider the proposals of the Powers would lead to the retirement of Lord SALISBURY, and perhaps even to the departure of the English fleet from Besika Bay. It was quite unnecessary to provoke by a wanton affront an adverse decision. The report that Sir HENRY ELLIOT is about to leave Constantinople, while Lord SALISBURY remains, implies an assumption that the negotiations will proceed. The animosity which the English Ambassador has incurred on the part of his Russian colleague and of one or two English newspapers. Correspondents suggests a suspicion of belief in any statements which represent Sir H. ELLIOT as an object of official censure. It would be undesirable to proclaim the fact that a substantial difference of opinion had arisen between the Government and the agent whom it has hitherto trusted. It is not to be supposed that any Ambassador would insist on his own judgment when it was adverse to the instructions of his Government; and the second Plenipotentiary at a Conference, having been practically superseded for the time by a member of the Cabinet, can have no wish or opportunity to thrust himself forward in opposition to his Government.

Until the exact form of the guarantees proposed by the Plenipotentiaries is known, it is impossible to judge whether the Porte would be likely to prefer the alternative of war with Russia. If the more violent enemies of Turkey rightly interpret the meaning and tendency of foreign occupation, the decision of the SULTAN and his VIZIER could not be doubtful. The Turks, who may still be hesitating, are informed that the proposed guarantees would both suspend the authority of the SULTAN in the greater part of European Turkey and prepare the way for a complete and final revolution. At the end of the term of occupation large districts would be

independent of Turkish interference; and a happy cluster of virtually free States would have been substituted for subject provinces. It may be objected to this theory that the supposed change would be in the highest degree unpalatable to Russia, and that it has not been contemplated by the English nation, or, as far as is known, by the Government. Nevertheless it is perhaps true that, under a pretext of temporary occupation, a permanent disruption of the Empire might be effected. It is only surprising that serious political writers should ask the GRAND VIZIER to betray his country and his sovereign by a treasonable complicity with ruinous proposals.

Some of the most zealous of the pro-Russian party have already begun to agitate in favour of active co-operation in the invasion of Turkey. They contend that the Powers represented in the Conference are bound to enforce the measures which they recommend, although, according to high authorities, the proposals of the Conference are equivalent to the dissolution of the Turkish dominion in Europe. During the whole controversy the professed advocates of universal peace have done nothing to discountenance war; but it had till lately been understood that the object of the philanthropists was to prevent English opposition to the designs of Russia. An entirely unprovoked war with Turkey, undertaken in the interest of Russia, is a singular application of the doctrine of peace. It would be an insult to the English Government to suppose that it could even take into consideration the wild suggestions of its own most factious adversaries.

The movements of the Russian army would furnish the most instructive comment on the deliberations of the Conference, if only it were possible to distinguish between menaces which may be intended to promote diplomatic objects and preparations for actual war. In anticipation either of the termination of the armistice, or of hesitation on the part of the Porte to concede guarantees, another Russian General has been appointed, in place of General TCHERNAYEFF, to the command of the army in Servia, and it is even reported that a Russian division is about to cross the Pruth. In 1853 the passage of the river was, notwithstanding the opposite advice given by England and France, answered by the Porte with an immediate declaration of war. Roumania is still technically a part of the Turkish Empire; but whether an invasion of a tributary province would be treated as an act of war depends on considerations of military and political convenience. No politician certainly knows whether the Russian Government really desires war. It is asserted, with so much probability that the report may perhaps be founded on conjecture, that, of all the numerous and just feelings of resentment which have been provoked by Mr. GLADSTONE's baneful activity, the indignation of the Emperor of RUSSIA is the deepest. No other sovereign or statesman has been so deeply embarrassed by the capricious agitation of the English mob and of its favourite leader. Mr. GLADSTONE induced the petty Government of Servia to continue a war from which it had hoped to be relieved, and he was therefore the principal cause of the disasters which were afterwards incurred by the Servians and their Russian auxiliaries. The English agitation has withdrawn the barrier which had formerly impeded Russian aggression, and it is now doubtful whether the EMPEROR himself will have the courage to check the warlike passions of the army, and of an active section of the community. If the decision depended on a balance of expediency, there can be little doubt that at the last hour

peace would be maintained. The late discussions must have convinced the Russian Government that the conquest of Turkey is a difficult and dangerous enterprise. Much loss will probably be incurred before the Danubian fortresses are taken, for traitors will not, as in 1827, be found to deliver Widdin or Silistria into the hands of the enemy. The Turkish army in the field, though it may probably be outnumbered, is not to be despised; and, above all, when direct resistance is broken, conquered provinces will only be held by an insecure tenure. Austria has plainly intimated her adherence to a jealous and vigilant policy by concentrating considerable bodies of troops in positions which will flank the Russian advance to the Balkan. The assent of the Powers to a provisional occupation of Bulgaria, either by Russia or by neutral troops, was equivalent to a protest against permanent possession. Prince BISMARCK himself, who loses no opportunity of reaffirming the cordiality of the alliance with Russia, significantly explained his approval of the Russian proposals by the remark that the occupation of Bulgaria would be only temporary. At the same time he announced the determination of his Government to come to the aid of Austria in a contingency which could only be produced by a war with Russia. When the history of the Conference is known, it will probably appear that only two Powers professed, with varying degrees of sincerity, a predominant solicitude for the welfare of the Christians in Turkey. Austria and Germany are less philanthropic than England; and they have political interests widely divergent from those of Russia. An invasion of Turkey will be a perilous adventure, and even victory may perhaps prove to be barren.

#### THE JEWS IN THE EAST.

A GREAT gathering of the leading Jews of Europe was held a few days ago at Paris, under the presidency of M. CRÉMIEUX. The race was represented by delegates from most European States, the attendance of Austrian and German Jews being exceptionally large. Jewish intelligence and Jewish wealth came in all their force to do battle for some of the most wretched of the many wretched members of the Jewish community. The meeting had been called together to draw the attention of Europe to the wrongs which Jews habitually undergo in the tributary States of European Turkey. In Turkey itself the Jews have no special cause of complaint. They are not on an equality with the Mahomedans, but they are treated like all the subject populations of the Porte. They are tolerated, and in religious matters left to themselves; and if they are misgoverned, and are often the victims of officials and policemen, they do but share the fortunes of all Christians and many Mahomedans; and as they do not meddle with politics, and find the Turks very considerate as rulers in comparison with many Christian Governments, they have no antipathy to the Turks, and are regarded by the Turks without aversion and with a kind of contemptuous friendliness. But they have very good reason for thinking that, if the Christians got the upper hand in any part of European Turkey, they would be cruelly persecuted. Semi-barbarian Christians are far more tyrannical in their fanaticism than the Turks are, and how they govern and how they persecute the Jews know by painful experience in Serbia and Roumania. These wretched little States are dependent enough to need that Europe shall continually nurse them and protect them from the consequences of their own rashness, but independent enough to contend that persecution is one of their own internal affairs, and that they must be allowed to carry it on in their own way. And, as it is their fancy to persecute, they certainly indulge their fancy in a most comfortable and thorough way. They hate the Jews, and take every means to show their hatred. The Paris meeting drew up a memorial on the subject of the persecution of the Jews in Roumania and Serbia to be presented to all the Great Powers; and the memorial was formally presented to Lord DERBY by Baron DE WORMS and Mr. Serjeant SIMON. Lord DERBY, and through him the English public, was invited to take notice of what the treatment of Jews in those provinces has been and is. We are told of synagogues burnt, of Jews thrust into the water by Roumanian soldiers using their bayonets and the butt ends of their muskets, of murders, ravishment, expulsion of whole families in the midst of the winter,

exclusion from trade, and general reduction to beggary. "Every crime," as Serjeant SIMON stated, "committed by Bashi-Bazouks in Bulgaria has been practised by Christians upon Israelites in Roumania; the barbarity has only been on a smaller scale." The scale, no doubt, makes a great deal of difference. If only ten Bulgarians had been massacred at Batak, as there were only ten Jews drowned by the soldiers at Galatz, Europe would have heard and thought nothing of the Bulgarian atrocities. But as an indication of the spirit in which government is carried on in Serbia and Roumania, and as it would be carried on if fresh Christian tributary provinces were carved out of European Turkey, the murder of ten Jews by servants of the Government is as instructive as the murder of a hundred would be. It is a crying wrong which Europe in one way or another ought to find the means to remedy.

It is interesting to inquire why the Jews are so hated and persecuted in Serbia and Roumania—that is, in countries where Christianity presents itself in its lowest form. It is not so very long since Jews were treated with a very imperfect degree of toleration in most European countries, and it has evidently required that a Christian nation should be something more than Christian, and have reached a high degree of civilization, before it will really consider Jews on an equality with Christians. It would have seemed very strange to Englishmen of the last generation to see a Jew Master of the Rolls, and even now no Jew can sit in the House of Lords. Practically, however, there is now complete toleration of the Jews in France and Austria, and almost complete toleration of them in Germany and England. The first cause of the hatred of the Jews was of course the religious one. They were in Christian eyes an accursed race, who had despised and rejected the Founder of Christianity. When this special cause of animosity had lost something of its force through the increased intercourse of the Christian with the non-Christian world, the Jews fell into the general rank of the unorthodox. This is the light in which they are at this day regarded in Russia. They share the general condemnation of those who refuse to dwell in the light of the Greek Church. They are treated as an iron and relentless despotism treats those who do not please it; and, like the Roman Catholics, are kept down, harassed, and worried by all the arts of bureaucratic ingenuity. Russia, backward as it is, does not go further than this; but in Roumania and Serbia other feelings are allowed to come into play. There the Jews are hated, not only because they are not Christians, but because they are an alien race, keeping to themselves, having their own traditions and customs, marrying among themselves, and seeming like wanderers encamped on a territory which does not belong to them. They rouse the distrust which gipsies pitching their tents on a wayside green rouse in the breasts of English villagers. In accordance with this view, the Roumanian Courts have held that a Jew cannot be considered a Moldavian or Wallachian by birth, and therefore that the clause in the Constitution by which the affairs of the Principalities are regulated, providing that all persons born Wallachians or Moldavians shall be regarded as civilly equal, does not apply to the Jews. The Roumanian Government has even gone so far as to insist that the subjects of those countries with which it has concluded Treaties of Commerce shall, if Jews, not reap the benefits of those treaties; so that, whereas an Austrian or an English Christian is entitled to hold land or trade in the Principalities, an Austrian or an English Jew is not. In the eyes of a Roumanian there is not, and cannot be, any such person as an Austrian Jew or a Roumanian Jew. All Jews are born, live, and die as aliens to every Government. Lastly, these barbarous Christians are afraid of the commercial cleverness of the Jews. They do not see how they are to do business if Jews compete with them. One of the greatest causes of offence which the Jews have given is that they have offered to lend money at lower rates than the native usurers would take. Accordingly the Jews are kept out of every branch of trade by which it was thought they would thrive. They may not sell drugs, or liquors, or tobacco, or raw articles, or colonial produce. This prohibition reduces them to something like starvation, but it is really only an instance of Protection gone mad. That the laws should be so shaped as to injure the consumer, and that the enmity of those who could do business well should be debarred a field in order that those who do business badly may flourish, is the basis of Protection all over the world; and if the Jews are once looked on as aliens, they are logically excluded as foreign inter-



lopers. That they happen to live in the same country with the Protectionists, and must starve before their eyes if Protection asserts itself to the full, is only an accident in the development of a great principle.

LORD DERBY received the Jewish deputation with every mark of cordial concurrence of opinion, and promised that what he could do to further their wishes should be done. So far as Turkey goes, everything is easy. England is certainly not going to interfere in Turkey in order to make the condition of the Jews worse than it is. It will not acquiesce in any settlement which will enable people on a level with the Servians to treat Jews as Jews are treated in Servia. If good government is introduced, it must be a government good for Christians, Jews, and Mahomedans alike. But how to get at Servia and Roumania seemed to LORD DERBY a more difficult matter. Something may be done, perhaps, whenever there is an opportunity of concluding or revising a Treaty of Commerce. We do not regard Jews here in England as aliens, and we need not accept any treaty with a country which says that, in its eyes, English Jews are not Englishmen. But there are very few English Jews who dream of settling or trading in Roumania. With us, therefore, the question is merely a theoretical one. It is not so with Austria. There Jews abound, and a few steps would take them from Austrian into Roumanian territory. It is a matter of considerable importance to Austrian Jews that they should be allowed to hold land and trade on the Roumanian side of the frontier. Austria has every motive for not allowing its Treaty of Commerce to be construed in the Roumanian sense; and the most practical thing that England can do is to uphold Austria in its contention. But it may be doubted whether this is all that we can do and ought to do. Why do we interfere in European Turkey? Because we say that European Turkey exists through our countenance and assistance, and when we countenance and assist we have a right to insist on good government. What is true of Turkey is still more conspicuously true at this moment of Servia. Why is Servia to pay none of the penalties of defeat in war? and, although utterly at the mercy of its enemy, is even to receive an accession of territory at her expense? Simply because it is countenanced, assisted, and protected by the Great Powers. It is to them that Servia now owes its national existence. In a country that is not so much under our wing as absolutely our creature, we have as much right to insist on what we think to be good government as we can possibly have in European Turkey. The Servians are at the mercy of Europe, which can treat them as it pleases, and the call of duty to protect the Jews in Servia is quite as strong as it is to protect the Christians in Turkey. There is no reason why the Servians should be so petted and favoured that they shall retain the luxury of persecution; and if the Jews were adequately protected in Servia by a formal covenant with Europe, the pressure of so striking an example would inevitably tell before long on Roumania.

#### THE NEW TURKISH CONSTITUTION.

THE Constitution by which MIDHAT PASHA from his first entrance into power has proposed to regenerate Turkey will scarcely attain to the character of a practical experiment. The representatives of the European Powers, having assumed that external guarantees are required for the protection of the Christians, naturally decline to consider projects of spontaneous reform which must depend for any efficiency which they may possess on the voluntary performance by the Turkish Government of its own promises. Foreign Governments have nothing to say to limitations of the SULTAN's prerogative, or to projects of election and representation which may or may not be seriously tried. If the question were still open, prudent statesmen would perhaps rely more willingly on a Grand Vizier wielding the absolute power of his predecessors than on a newfangled and exotic Parliament. MIDHAT PASHA has himself, without any constitutional provisions, governed two districts of European Turkey and the distant province of Bagdad with justice, firmness, and success. If he applied the same qualities to the general administration of the Empire, he would be more feared and better obeyed by functionaries whom he could summarily dismiss and punish than if he were hampered by the interference of an Assembly to which he might be held responsible. There is reason to believe that the measure which he has

framed is proposed in earnest, and that it would not, at least during MIDHAT's tenure of office, share the fate of the notorious Hatti-Humayuns, and other abortive decrees of reform. There is much apparent force in the argument that the concession of special privileges to insurgent or discontented provinces might create and justify feelings of jealousy in every neighbouring population; but the members of the Conference may reply that they have nothing to do for the present with Asiatic Turkey, or even with Epirus and Thessaly. If the SULTAN thinks fit to improve the condition of any body of his subjects, he will meet with no remonstrance or impediment from Europe. For the provinces with which the Powers are immediately concerned, they will not be satisfied with any verbal or statutory Constitution. The new system will, in the contingency of a peaceable solution, be suspended in Bosnia and Bulgaria; and, in the event of war, it will evidently be for the time impracticable.

It is always unsafe to deduce from general theories an unqualified condemnation of a policy adopted, apparently in good faith, by legislators who are familiar with all the difficulties of their task; but if a Turkish Parliament and a Sultan of limited prerogative prove to be beneficent institutions, it will become necessary to reconsider some of the most positive conclusions which have been suggested by history. It has thus far been found that nations can only govern themselves through a system of representation when they are so far homogeneous that they have for the most part common interests. It is of the essence of Parliamentary government that the minority should not be divided by any permanent or impassable line from the majority which necessarily rules. In some countries, indeed, numerical preponderance is tempered by limitations of the suffrage; but the relations of the party in power with the Opposition ought not to be complicated by antagonism of religion or race. In communities much more advanced than Turkey, as, for instance, in the adjacent countries of Austria and Hungary, elected Assemblies are sometimes divided by irreconcilable feuds, and sometimes crippled by the secession of discontented sections of the body. The English West Indian colonies and the Southern States of America present forcible illustrations of the difficulty of uniting classes which are marked off from one another by ineffaceable distinctions in the exercise of constitutional freedom. Jamaica, Barbadoes, and, for some purposes, South Carolina enjoy the advantage of a central authority which in case of need would restrain the excesses of jarring factions. A great Sultan or a Vizier of genius might possibly render the same service to Turks and Bulgarians; but MIDHAT proposes partially to disavow the sovereign authority when it most urgently requires the possession of irresistible force. Whatever a representative Assembly could effect might be done more quickly and more certainly by the SULTAN and his Ministers. Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL, in his strenuous advocacy of local or village self-government, relies on his Indian experience, which seems more applicable to the condition of Turkey than the political doctrines of Western Europe. When he repeatedly denounces more ambitious schemes of reform and centralization as "Frenchified," he may perhaps be considered by Frenchmen and their Continental imitators illiberal; but his phrase implies a censure in which Englishmen will generally be inclined to concur. Paper constitutions, plagiarized from French or even from English practice, are subject to the defects which national prejudice condemns as "Frenchified."

Turkish reformers may be forgiven if, like all inexperienced students of constitutional doctrine, they attach excessive value to words. The first articles of the new Charter are startling; but it is not certain that the changes which they purport to introduce will be really effected. No proposition can be more strange than the declaration that the SULTAN will henceforth be a constitutional sovereign of the European type. MIDHAT PASHA prudently abstains from more minute definitions which might have shown whether the monarch is to hold the position of an English King or of a German Emperor. The imitation of European institutions is continued by the enactment that the SULTAN is to be irresponsible and inviolable. The experience of ages has satisfied Englishmen that it is for the public interest to maintain the principle that the QUEEN can do no wrong. NAPOLEON III., when he assumed absolute power, consistently adopted the opposite course of announcing that he was responsible to the nation. He well knew the difficulty of calling the Sovereign to account; and his exclu-

sive assumption of responsibility would shield Ministers who might have executed unlawful commands. It is because the Queen of ENGLAND is not responsible that her Ministers are subject to the control of Parliament. Nevertheless it is probable that a simple-minded Turk would interpret differently the provision of the new Constitution. It is well known that Mussulman rulers are in theory, and sometimes in practice, liable to deposition, and even to severe penalties, for violation of the law and for neglect of their duties. MIDHAT PASHA has himself within a few months deposed one Sultan for misconduct and declared another incapable of reigning. A Constitution which should have exempted ABDUL AZIZ from the penalty of his crimes and follies would not at first sight seem to increase the securities which the Koran or the customs of the East provide against extreme misgovernment. The rest of the Constitution might have been copied from many documents of the same kind which have in the present century been compiled in various countries, and especially in Spain. There are of course to be two Chambers in Turkey; and as there is, properly speaking, no upper class in the country, it is perhaps inevitable that the Senate should be composed of nominees. That an Upper Chamber has generally been a failure on the Continent is a fact which is not likely to trouble a theorist whose political education is derived from France rather than from England. The deputies are to be returned from equal electoral districts by ballot and universal suffrage; and they are to possess the privileges and powers which belong to similar Assemblies elsewhere. Among other attributes, they are entitled to impeach public functionaries, who will be tried by tribunals to be hereafter constituted. The repetition of hackneyed phrases by a sincere believer in exploded nostrums is at the same time ludicrous and sad.

Islamism is unavoidably adopted as the religion of the State, but its votaries are to enjoy no exceptional privileges. As many recent writers have explained, the Turks have always been the most tolerant of ruling races, and the Christian subjects of the SULTAN are accustomed to a degree of religious freedom which is unknown in many countries of higher civilization; but although the Mussulmans are not disposed either to persecute the Christians or to interfere with their forms of worship, they have never practically conceded the equality which is, not for the first time, nominally established by the new Constitution. There is too much reason in the remark of the most implacable enemies of Turkey that, while all classes are invested with equal electoral power, no provision is made for arming the Christians or for disarming the Mahometans. If the practice of elections corresponds to the provisions of the Constitution, the Christians will return a considerable majority of the future deputies, and it may be presumed that the legislation of the Assembly will be regulated by the wishes and interests of the constituency; yet it is certain that the Mussulmans throughout the Empire would refuse to obey unpalatable decisions of a Christian Parliament. The SULTAN, in spite of his limited prerogative and of his exemption from responsibility, would be at once obeyed by every Turk in his dominions if he were to abolish or openly violate the Constitution. It is probable that the author of the proposed legislation sincerely believes in the efficacy of his scheme for abolishing the social and political evils which afflict his country. A despotism has not succeeded in Turkey; but absolute power is at this time the most manageable instrument for the enforcement of equal justice on all classes of the population. Universal suffrage, Ministerial responsibility, and the rest, are artificial and imported devices which will scarcely become acclimatized in Turkey.

#### THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE FRENCH CHAMBERS.

THE French Chamber of Deputies has shown a prudent desire to avoid a conflict with the Senate which could have benefited no one except those who aim at making it appear that the Republic is only possible on paper. This encouraging result is probably due to the satisfaction of the Moderate Republicans at M. JULES SIMON'S accession to office. The ground was originally cleared for the fight by the injudicious parsimony of the Left. This enabled the Senate to plead that, in restoring certain items in the Estimates, it was only protecting the MINISTER OF FINANCE against the Budget Committee. If the majority in the Chamber of Deputies had still listened

to M. GAMBETTA, the figures reinserted by the Senate would have been rejected without discussion. But now that M. DUFAURE has retired, M. GAMBETTA no longer commands the votes of the entire Left. The Left Centre, for example, think that the reconstructed Ministry is quite Liberal enough, and having got rid of M. DUFAURE by reducing the Estimates, they are now ready to raise them to something like their former level. Their votes on the Ecclesiastical Budget were directed, not against the clergy who were to receive the grants, but against the Minister who defended them. Now that this Minister is gone, they have no objection to reconsidering the Estimates on their merits. Apart from the personal motives that may have disposed the Conservative Republicans to take this course, there is no doubt that it was wise not to follow M. GAMBETTA in his campaign against the Senate. His speech on Thursday did all that ingenuity could do to make out a case against the right of the Senators to amend the Budget; but his argument had the fatal fault of using analogy, not to clear up doubts, but to overthrow certainties. M. GAMBETTA contends that, as other Second Chambers, and especially the English House of Lords, have no power of amending money Bills, therefore the French Senate cannot have such a power. But arguments of this kind can avail nothing against the plain fact that the French Constitution gives the Senate co-ordinate powers with the Chamber of Deputies in the making of laws, and then makes a special exception with regard to financial laws. When a general power is qualified by a special exception, it is not permissible to assume any other limitations to the power than such as are introduced by the exception, and the 8th Article of the Constitution leaves no one in uncertainty as to what these limitations are. In all other matters the Senate has an equal right with the Chamber of Deputies to originate Bills; in financial matters it can only consider Bills which have been sent up to it by the Chamber of Deputies. Every other Bill may be introduced either in the Senate or in the Chamber, just as in England the Cabinet is free to bring forward its measures either in the Lords or in the Commons. But a money Bill must be brought forward in the Chamber of Deputies and passed by the Chamber of Deputies before the Senate can take cognizance of its contents. As soon, however, as a money Bill has been passed by the Chamber of Deputies the limitation expires. The Constitution says nothing of any restriction upon the Senate in its treatment of money Bills when once it is legally in possession of them; and, as a money Bill only differs from another Bill in virtue of a specific provision affecting it, the silence of the Constitution on the subject is tantamount to a declaration that the Senate has the same power to amend the Budget that it has to amend every other Bill.

Another argument relied on by the Left is that, as the Constitution says nothing about what is to be done when the two Chambers disagree, it must have meant the Chamber of Deputies to have the last word. Unfortunately, it is equally open to the Right to maintain that this omission in the Constitution must be understood to give the last word to the Senate. As there is no tribunal empowered to give an authoritative interpretation of disputed passages in the Constitution, the reading of one interested party is as good or as bad as the reading of the other. All that is clear is that the Senate has the right of amending the Budget, that the Chamber of Deputies has the right of rejecting the Senate's amendments, and that, as the consent of both Chambers is necessary to a Bill's becoming law, the Senate, by standing by its amendments, the Chamber of Deputies, by persisting in rejecting them, can prevent the Budget from passing. In other matters this check to legislation would not be of much importance. There are but few laws for which the country could not afford to wait another year. But the Budget stands on a different footing. The public service cannot be carried on for a year on credit, and in the event of both Chambers remaining obstinate, something must have been done to save the country from the ill consequences of their inconvenient adherence to their supposed rights. M. GAMBETTA argues that, when the construction of an article in the Constitution is disputed, the proper course is for the true meaning to be settled by the two Chambers sitting as a single Assembly. In saying this, however, he appears to confound the interpretation of the Constitution, for which no provision has been made, and the revision of the Constitution, the provision for which can only, until 1880, take effect at



the suggestion of the PRESIDENT. There is no reason to suppose that Marshal MACMAHON is troubled with any doubts as to the meaning of the 8th Article; and if he is satisfied with the Constitution as it stands, no one can compel him to propose its revision. Even supposing that the MARSHAL were willing to exercise the initiative reserved to him, to desire a revision of the Constitution, with all the re-opening of buried discussions which must attend the process, would be strangely to exaggerate the importance of the present struggle. There is no danger that the action of the Senate can become a precedent, because in a written Constitution no precedent can override the rights of the revising authority. Supposing the Senate to alter every Budget between now and 1880, it will be equally easy in 1880 to introduce into Article 8 a prohibition of its doing so for the future. When that time comes a revision, or an attempt at revision, will probably be inevitable; but it is certainly not to the interest of the Republican party to provoke a gratuitous revision in the meantime.

Supposing, however, that the Chamber of Deputies had shown itself incapable of appreciating the wisdom of concession, the alternative that would probably have been resorted to is dissolution. In itself this would have been a perfectly constitutional way of escaping from the difficulty. The two Chambers are divided upon certain questions of public expenditure. The Senate holds that the State should show some additional liberality to the clergy. The Chamber of Deputies holds that the grants made to the Church should be pared down. This is, after all, a question for the taxpayers. It is their money, and they are the best authorities upon the question how they would like their money spent. If there is a dissolution turning exclusively on this single question of liberality or economy, an answer would probably be extracted from them which would leave no doubt as to their wishes. M. GAMBETTA accepts this view of the situation, and says that if the Chamber has to choose between abdicating its rights and an appeal to the country, it has no cause to fear the latter. As regards the particular question at issue this may perhaps be true. But there are other considerations to be taken into account besides the particular question at issue. The Republic, said M. JULES SIMON, is charged with a want of stability; and if before the Constitution has been two years at work a dissolution had to be resorted to in order to extricate the Chambers from a purposeless antagonism, it would certainly be felt by many persons that the charge had some foundation. That the Right should desire a dissolution is intelligible. Whether it served or injured their immediate purpose, it could hardly fail to serve their ultimate purpose. It would help to confirm the sense of vague uneasiness which is the most dangerous enemy that the Republic has to contend with. The men whom the Republic has to fear are not the politicians, but the men of business—the men in every class of society who are occupied in earning their livelihoods or in building up their fortunes, and who know that political uncertainty is highly inimical to both processes. The advance that the Republic has recently made in public confidence has mainly resulted from the growing disposition of these classes to accept the experiences of five years as a fair earnest of the future. If they had reason given them to think that, after all, the Republic had not changed its skin so completely as they had supposed, that it had only modified the manner of its restlessness, and substituted frequent dissolutions for occasional revolutions, it is impossible to say with any certainty whether their reading of the future would remain unaltered. At all events it would have been exceedingly imprudent to give them the opportunity of altering it; and even M. GAMBETTA is probably not sorry, now that he has delivered his conscience, that he has not been able to prevent the Chamber of Deputies from deciding, by a large majority, to let the constitutional question lie and to give a fair consideration to the Senate's amendments.

#### THE STORM-WAVE IN BENGAL.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has published an official account of the terrible disaster which visited the islands and adjacent coasts at the mouth of the Megna on the 31st of October. He went over the whole scene of the calamity, traced its course and progress, ascertained as nearly as possible the number of lives lost, examined into the wants and resources of the survivors, and organized the aid which was to be bestowed

on the sufferers. The whole population affected numbered about a million, and of this number more than 200,000 perished. At the mouth of the Megna are the three islands, fronting the Bay of Bengal, of Sundep, Hattia, and Dukhin Shahbazzore, enclosed between the coasts of Buckergunge on the west and Chittagong on the east, and it was these islands and these coasts which were swept by the storm-wave. The islands suffered much more severely than the coasts. Sir RICHARD TEMPLE gives the population of Sundep at 87,000, and calculates that 40,000 of the inhabitants were drowned. Out of 54,000 on Hattia island 30,000, and out of 221,000 on Dukhin Shahbazzore island 70,000, are estimated to have perished. The population was one of peasant proprietors, the richest in Bengal, the chief produce being rice, which was produced in quantities sufficient not only to provide for the requirements of the locality, but to admit of exportation on a considerable scale. There was only one single village approaching in importance to a town, and this has been entirely swept away. The chief wealth of the people consisted in the cows, oxen, and buffaloes which they used in agriculture, and in the numerous boats with which they kept up communication with the mainland. Two widespread habits contributed greatly in the hour of need to avert the extremity of suffering and privation. The people were accustomed to live in hamlets surrounded with a thick wall of trees, and they buried their grain in deep pits until they wanted to use it. When the great wave swept over their dwellings, they were floated on to the trees, many of which were a species of prickly thorn, which caught and held them even when they were too unconscious or nervous to have helped themselves; and when the waters subsided, those who had escaped—and scarcely any one had escaped who had not been saved by a tree—were not without means of supporting life until assistance came. They opened their pits, dried the grain in the sun, and, though the misery they had to endure was very great, they were saved from the horrors of starvation.

There was a severe cyclone in the Bay of Bengal on the night of October 31. But it was not the wind which was the main agent of destruction. It was the storm-wave, sweeping along to a height of from ten to thirty feet, and in some places, where it met with any resistance, mounting still higher. What was the real direction of the wave is still a matter of doubt. Sir RICHARD TEMPLE says that he found the prevalent opinion to be that it came first from the sea up the Megna with salt water, and then the cyclone turned round and rolled the fresh water from the river downwards, the salt and fresh waters being thus piled up at the point of confluence, and rushing all over the surrounding tracts. But the LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR does not think that the facts he himself observed are in accordance with this account. In the extreme east of the scene of devastation, it seems that the direction of the inundation was from the south-west—that is, from the sea. But the almost unvarying direction of the bent, broken, and uprooted trees, in the parts to which he paid especial attention, convinced him the storm broke from the north and north-west—that is, from the upper reach of the Megna; and this view is corroborated by a circumstance which he notices in speaking of the sufferings of the inhabitants. He says that there must have been much trouble about water at first. But either the drinking tanks speedily recovered from the brackishness left by the sea-wave, or else the storm-wave must have mainly consisted of fresh water; for the drinking tanks were not brackish when he and his party tasted them a few days afterwards. The disaster came without any warning. In the evening the weather was a little windy and hazy, and had been somewhat hot; but the people retired to rest apprehending nothing. About midnight there arose a cry of "The water is on us!" and a great wave burst over the country, followed by another, and again by a third, all three rushing rapidly southwards. The air and wind were very cold, so that some who had escaped to the trees fell off from numbness and exhaustion; but the temperature of the water itself was noticeably warm. The cottages were swept away with the people in them, and were immediately broken up, and where the trees abounded the people were floated into them. There was no need to climb the trees; the water carried the victims of the storm-wave into the branches, and those who held on firmly enough were saved. If all who were saved were saved by trees, the trees must have been very numerous; for even in the worst case, that of the island of Hattia, where 30,000 perished, there were 24,000 saved, and in the adjacent

island of Dukhin Shahbazzore Sir RICHARD TEMPLE calculates that 251,000 people were saved, which seems an enormous number to have owed the preservation of life to being caught in branches. But in some places there were great gaps in the lines of trees, and there the destruction of life was unchecked, while again numbers of trees were swept away. So numerous were the trees torn up by the roots that they virtually barricaded the passage out to sea by the western branch of the Megna, so that Sir RICHARD TEMPLE could not approach by sea the devastated tracts on that side.

The survivors showed much quiet fortitude. In a few hours they were at work drying their grain, and they made frameworks with broken branches, over which they threw sheets and cloths, such as they had about them at the moment, and so made what Sir RICHARD TEMPLE calls little tent-like habitations on the sites of their former houses. But a scene of the most dreadful desolation spread all around them. Dead bodies lay and soon decomposed on every side. The cows and oxen were almost all gone, but the buffaloes had for the most escaped, through their great power of swimming. The boats, great and small, which constitute the only means of carriage in these tracts, filling the place of carts, were all lost, having been "jammed and smashed up together," or wrecked or carried far inland; and not only was a great part of their wealth thus taken from the people, but they were deprived of the means of communicating with, and seeking help from, the mainland. The whole aspect of the country was changed; for the trees were no longer green, but appeared to be of a drab colour, with bare branches or dead leaves. When the storm burst the rice-crop was ripening for the harvest, and where the plant had not advanced beyond the stage of flowering the crop was totally destroyed; but it was saved where the grain had formed or begun to form. So abundant, however, would the crop have been if it had not been injured, that Sir RICHARD TEMPLE calculates that, if only one-third is found to have been saved, it will suffice for the wants of the population. The plantain trees had lost all their fruit, but the cocoa-nuts withstood the storm and afforded some sustenance. Terrible as has been the loss of life, the material injury seems not to have been so great as might have been expected. Order was soon restored by the prompt intervention of the authorities on the mainland. Most of the local native officials had been drowned on the islands; and of those who escaped, some stood by their posts and did their duty well, while some few deserted and fled for their own safety, and these offenders, who belonged chiefly to the lowest grade of the police, will, Sir RICHARD TEMPLE says, be duly punished. But all the higher authorities who were near enough to render any effective aid showed the most exemplary activity and zeal, and before Sir RICHARD TEMPLE left he had sketched out a complete scheme of what the course of the Government and its agents was to be. The great danger was, he thought, that of an epidemic from exposure to the climate, from the putrefaction of the dead bodies of men and animals, and from the pollution of the drinking water, and he established a large medical staff ready to combat disease as soon as it might show itself. For the general body of the people the best thing to be done was, he thought, to cheer them, to give them heart to work, to encourage them to rebuild their houses and open shops. Government was to interfere principally as a comforter, and, if there were to be relief centres, these centres were set up, not so much to give relief, which was to be accorded only in extreme and exceptional cases, as to preserve order. The inhabitants, who are a thrifty, industrious race, will soon, Sir RICHARD TEMPLE thinks, build new houses, buy new boats, and find the land as profitable as ever. A little money may have to be spent by Government in its work of encouragement; but the local resources will be sufficient, and no application to the Imperial Treasury will be necessary. Nor will it even be necessary to remit the Land-tax. It is small in these districts in comparison to the total profits of the land, and the people are quite able to pay it. The Government got in all its land revenue during the much worse crisis of the famine of 1874 in every district of Bengal; and Sir RICHARD TEMPLE sees no reason why the result should be worse in the case of the tracts over which the storm-wave swept. Altogether, this memorandum by Sir RICHARD TEMPLE is most creditable to him, and to the whole system of Indian administration. It

shows that those who govern India never spare themselves trouble to gain a real practical knowledge of facts; that they sympathize with the victims of calamities, and keep up every official to a high standard of duty; and that at the same time they do not lose their heads when great misfortunes happen, see what the natives can be made to do, and are not to be diverted by pity or ignorance from insisting that the paramount claims of the Government shall be respected and satisfied.

#### NEGRO GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE description of the South Carolina Assembly by a Correspondent of the *Times* is both curious and instructive. As the writer justly says, the state of things which he describes is more tragic than ludicrous. The concession of the suffrage to the negroes after the Civil War has been secured by an Amendment of the Constitution, and it is perhaps irrevocable. The consequences which have resulted were easy to foresee; but the Republicans had something to say in defence of the paradoxical policy which they adopted. It was the plain duty of the victorious party to secure from future oppression the slaves who had been emancipated by their agency; and at the same time it would have been impossible to perpetuate a state of tutelage if the South was to be restored to its share in the constitutional system. State Legislatures in which the coloured population was not represented, though they might neither have been willing nor able to revive personal slavery, would perhaps have reduced the negroes to the condition of serfs. Americans entertain a superstitious reverence for the right of voting; nor were the Republicans able to devise any other security for the personal liberty of the freedmen. Universal suffrage in the North has not in all respects succeeded; but it is popularly regarded as a mode of maintaining the equality of which it is really the necessary result. It was reasonably desired to establish legal equality in the South; but no political measure can operate advantageously when it is founded on a false assumption. The social distinctions between the two races have perhaps for the present been aggravated by the sweeping extension of the franchise. Even the Northern adventurers who have temporarily obtained power by directing negro majorities are excluded from Southern society. They appear not to have used their influence for the purpose of inducing their ignorant and simple clients to prove themselves worthy of the franchise. There are even in South Carolina, and probably in all the Southern States, coloured men of some intelligence and education, who would creditably discharge public duties; but it appears that the Assembly is largely composed of the lowest class of a community which is necessarily inferior. The inveterate belief in Republican institutions administered by means of universal suffrage will not long survive the spectacle of legislation conducted by unconscious buffoons.

The constituents of the poor simpletons who talk broken English in the South Carolina Assembly also form the doubtful majority which, with the aid of a Returning Board composed of similar materials, has authorized Presidential electors to vote for a Republican President. Intelligent Americans naturally regret that the election of the Chief Magistrate of the Union should in any case depend on the caprice of hordes of semi-barbarous peasants; but the Republicans may reply that they have a clear majority in the Northern States, and that their adversaries are interested in the maintenance of a constituency in the South which commands votes in proportion to its total numbers. The scandal and the mischief of negro domination has been largely reduced, and it will probably soon be obliterated. The future President, even if he is a Republican, will scarcely follow the example of General GRANT in employing Federal troops to return sham legislative bodies in South Carolina or Louisiana. In the rest of the South the American citizens have resumed their natural supremacy; sometimes, perhaps, by violence and intimidation, but also through the legitimate influence of knowledge, of property, and of political aptitude. If the negroes, instead of attempting themselves to exercise functions for which they are generally unfit, make use of their votes to establish a claim on the just consideration of their white representatives, the franchise may, after all, prove to be a valuable possession. In course of time it is possible that the people of the South may, as in the days before the anti-slavery agitation,



divide themselves between political parties, instead of cultivating exclusively the Democratic alliance; but they must first be assured of the loyalty or deference of the negro voters in their respective States. The intolerable nuisance of the South Carolina Legislature will probably be sooner or later abated. As long as it continues, white inhabitants of neighbouring States will unanimously oppose the party which endangers the foundations of social order by separating political power from social and natural superiority. It is almost surprising that the Southern outrages which are recorded or invented by Republican journals have not been more common.

The exposure of a ridiculous parody of representative institutions forms a useful comment on General GRANT'S recurrence to his favourite project of annexing San Domingo. The new citizens whom he would have admitted to an equal share in the government of the Union might possibly, as they have been long emancipated, be less incapable than the South Carolina freedmen; but, on the other hand, they would be alien in religion and language as well as in blood. The election of Mr. HAYES will provoke discontent if he ultimately owes his success to the fraudulent proceedings of two or three negro Returning Boards. It may be doubted whether a President would be allowed to take his seat if it were known that his election had been determined by the votes of mongrel Spaniards from San Domingo or French negroes from Hayti. The anomalies which already prevail are sufficiently embarrassing; and perhaps some Americans may regret the want of a moderating power such as that which is exercised by the English Government and Parliament over colonies which are subject to similar difficulties. Jamaica has enjoyed prosperity and general content since a Constitution which had, through the abolition of slavery, become inapplicable to present circumstances, was suppressed by Imperial authority. It is highly probable that similar intervention will be required for the same reasons in Barbadoes, which is at present misgoverned in a manner opposite to the anarchy of South Carolina. In both cases a conflict of races renders fair representation impracticable. A Reform Bill would reduce Barbadoes to the condition of South Carolina, as a large restriction of the suffrage would make South Carolina approximate to the present state of Barbadoes. A benevolent dictator, absolutely indifferent to the pretensions of contending factions, has many advantages over an oligarchy which tends to become tyrannical, and over the anarchic domination of an incompetent multitude. Of all distinctions between classes, diversity of colour is perhaps the most inconvenient, because it is the most incurable. The descendants of German or Gaulish slaves often rose to high rank in Rome; and Mahometan toleration is vigorous enough to prevail over prejudice against negro blood. Englishmen, and the descendants of Englishmen, are wholly incapable of Oriental liberality.

The most melancholy part of the interesting letter of the *Times'* Correspondent is the account of the social excommunication from which no political triumph can protect South Carolina negroes. There are educated persons of mixed blood who appear to be qualified for any civic function, and some of them render valuable service to the dominant party; but neither regard to political influence nor gratitude for party support will induce white men in the South to associate with those who have any taint of African descent. It seems that political equality, where it has been forcibly introduced, tends rather to increase than to diminish the effect of social distinctions. The French aristocracy is more exclusive than the English, though it has for nearly a century been deprived of political importance. The white citizens of South Carolina regard the negro or the mulatto as a Brahmin regards a low-caste Hindoo who may possibly have become rich and powerful. The superiority which cannot be alienated is the most highly valued. Not only members of the Legislature, who may perhaps be unworthy of their position, but Judges whose knowledge and integrity entitle them to respect, are excluded from hotels and other places of public resort if they unfortunately belong to the inferior race. Mr. SUMNER'S Bill for the enforcement of social equality would, if it had been passed, have had no effect in remedying the evil. It can only be hoped that, when there is no longer reason for political jealousy, the separation of castes may become less complete. It was often said in the days of slavery that the Southern people were better disposed to the negroes than their Northern neighbours. It would seem

that emancipation has caused the erection of artificial barriers to exclude intruders who have obtained legal right of admission. The great experiment of raising an African population to a European level will apparently not yet be fully tried. The slave-traders who imported labourers from the coast of Guinea to American plantations unintentionally did far more than missionaries or philanthropic travellers to civilize a race which was by no means the object of their benevolent care. Four or five millions of negroes in the Southern States have emerged from the barbarism of their ancestors; a few of their number are educated and capable of managing public or private business, and the whole mass has nominally adopted some form of Christianity. Left to themselves, the negroes of Hayti have never approached so nearly to a civilized condition, while savage life in Africa seems to be irreclaimable. If the American negroes can be induced to accept a subordinate political position, they may perhaps gradually be admitted to some degree of social equality or toleration. For the present, their administration of a State or their power to determine a Presidential election only provokes excusable indignation.

#### THE ARLESEY COLLISION.

THE collision which took place last Saturday on the Great Northern Railway is another melancholy illustration of the false and fatal system on which even the best-managed Companies persist in working their lines, notwithstanding the terrible disasters by which they are periodically warned. In comparison with most other railways, the Great Northern has always had a good reputation for careful and efficient administration. It is known that it does not grudge expense in keeping up its lines, nor does it disdain modern improvements. It has adopted interlocking points and signals, improved brakes, and the block system, and its permanent way is maintained in a sound condition. It is indeed the high character of the Company in these respects which makes the recent disaster so remarkable; and it will no doubt be cited as a proof of the favourite theory of directors and managers that no amount of care or pains will secure absolute safety in railway travelling, and that, as a certain number of accidents every year must be accepted as inevitable, it is not worth while to make a fuss about it. The evidence on the subject is not yet complete, but there is enough to show where the peril lurks in the prevailing system of railway working.

On Saturday afternoon, at 3.30 P.M., a long "pick-up" goods train, including some twenty-six trucks, arrived at Arlesey, and, in order to reach the siding, had to cross the main line. The signalman thought that there would be time to manage this before the arrival of the first part of the express from London to Manchester, which runs on to Peterborough without stopping; and under ordinary circumstances it might no doubt have been safely done, though only as a very close shave. It is said that the express was not expected till 3.45, but it is known that it was late, and was trying to make up for lost time by doing sixty miles an hour, and that it was nearing Cadwell at 3.34. The signalman there sent a "Be Ready" message at that hour to Arlesey, and, as there is little more than two miles between the two points, the express would come on in two or three minutes. Thus the interval between the beginning of the shunting and the arrival of the express can hardly have been more than five, or at the most six, minutes; and during this time an accident occurred to the goods train—the catching of a wheel in the points of the crossing—which brought it to a stand-still, and some minutes were spent in vain efforts to get it moved. Thus a very critical state of things arose; for the waggons were now blocking the main down line, and the express was expected in a few minutes. Since half-past two o'clock the line had been clear, and notice to that effect had been given to the next signalling point south, Cadwell cabin. Under these circumstances it is plain that, as soon as a block occurred, notice of it should have been forwarded to the same point, in order that the express might be properly warned, and either stop or go on slowly. But unfortunately this was not done; either the people at Arlesey did not think of it, or they trusted to their signals being set at danger as enough. However that may be, no intimation of any obstruction was sent to Cadwell, and the driver of the express, being allowed to pass that point unchecked, no doubt assumed that

the line was clear. The weather was rather hazy, and the dusk setting in, and the signals at Arlesey were not seen till it was too late to pull up the train in time, though the speed was reduced from sixty to thirty or forty miles an hour; and the engine-driver and fireman, seeing the fate before them, both jumped off and were killed, while the engine dashed into the goods train, cutting its way through, and imbedding itself in the ballast further on.

As to the cause of this calamity, it is said that it was due to human negligence and laxity. In the first place, notice of the block ought to have been given to the cabin at Cadwell; and, next, the driver ought to have stopped the train when he saw the danger signals. Mr. Cockshott, the Superintendent of the Great Northern Railway, has hit upon what he thinks a sufficient explanation. "If," he said, "an accident had not happened to the waggons, the line would have been clear before the express left Hitchin"; and this may be admitted. But the question is not quite so simple as this; for it is evident that in this instance the block system was not properly worked, and that, whatever carelessness may be imputed to the station-master and signalman at Arlesey, or to the driver of the express, they are not exclusively to blame for what happened. In short, we have here a striking illustration of the happy-go-lucky way in which railways are managed. It seems to be habitually taken for granted that there will always be fair weather and no hitches, and that the shortest space of time in which it is possible to do anything under favourable circumstances will always be quite enough, without leaving a margin for possible, or probable, contingencies. The examination of the signalman at Arlesey is very instructive on this point:—"What are your regulations as to working when you get a train in this way, going to shunt across the line, and a passenger train nearly due?" "I exercise my own judgment in regard to allowing one train to cross the main line when another is due." "Have you any rule to adopt?" "We go by the average running of trains." "You never block back to Cadwell before commencing shunting?" "No, unless there is a fog or snowstorm, when the signals cannot be plainly seen." "As a matter of practice, do you allow shunting at the through road in question without blocking back to Cadwell?" "Yes, when the line is clear." "Even when fast passenger trains are nearly due?" "Not when I know there is not time." We thus find that the safety of such a line as the Great Northern, with all its elaborate and costly points and signals and other appliances, is practically left to the discretion of a subordinate, probably scarcely higher in education and intelligence than a common working-man, who has at times a great deal to do, and gets flurried and confused, and who has no fixed rules to guide him, makes guesses which he calls exercising his judgment, and, when a hasty crossing of the line is attempted, assumes that it is sure to be all right. It is true that there is a superior authority at Arlesey, the station-master; but this official, when examined, justified the signalman in allowing the shunting. "It was the rule," he said, "not to allow any crossing after a passenger train left Hitchin, but, as the express had not left, there was nothing extraordinary in allowing the goods to cross." In point of fact, however, the express was almost due; and the station had received the "Be Ready" warning.

It is argued that every instant is of so much value to a Railway Company that it cannot afford to keep even a goods train waiting for a few minutes in order to make things safe; but the public has a right to look at the question from another point of view. It was forgotten to send off the signal which would have prevented a collision; but this was probably owing to the confusion of mind caused by the accident to the waggons, and if there had been a longer interval before the arrival of the express, the fatal omission might have been repaired. The breaking down of goods trains from various causes is by no means unfrequent; and it is a risk for which due allowance should be made. The next point is that the danger-signals in this case were too near the station to allow of the express being pulled up with the brake-power available; indeed it ran past the home signal and even past the signal-box, and so did the supplementary train which followed the first express at Cadwell, where it was happily stopped. There was, it is said, a vacuum brake on the express; but practically it was of little use, as it was not connected with the whole train, so as to enable the engine-driver to apply it himself to every wheel. All he could do was to use his own brake and whistle to the

guards to use theirs. But a guard, if busy in his compartment, and with the windows shut, may not hear the whistle, and in any case he can only put the brake on his own carriage. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the brake-power in this case was weak and ineffectual, and is in a large degree responsible for the collision; and also that, even with the most powerful brakes known, the space between the signals and the station was not enough for the operation of the brakes. Moreover, there is another fact which demands attention. The Manchester express was divided into two parts, as being heavy on account of the holidays, and the second part was despatched five minutes after the first. Thus there were two trains instead of one going through the prescribed limits; both were late, and had to rush at full speed; and the second express came up at Cadwell just about five minutes after the first, and ran through the danger signals for some seventy yards before it was able to stop.

We thus get at certain facts in regard to the working of the Great Northern in this instance; that the block system is not observed on this line with the undeviating constancy without which it becomes a danger and a snare; that trains have a way of dashing past danger signals; that the brake-power of the trains is insufficient; and that the signals are too near the stations, so that, if they are at danger, there is not time for a fast train to be pulled up. The truth would seem to be that the safety of passengers is sacrificed to meet the pressure of traffic and the making up of lost time; and that there is a want of systematic and trustworthy discipline and supervision of the working staff. Secretaries and managers get large salaries; but the people who are directly responsible for the proper working of trains are for the most part underpaid, and possess very inadequate qualifications for their duties. There are of course pretty paper rules, such as are produced at inquests and Board of Trade inquiries, but no thorough or systematic control over the staff is exercised or attempted; and the conditions under which trains are run, through the shortness of intervals between them and the general unpunctuality, strongly promote recklessness and muddling. It is to be hoped that, when the Railway Accidents Commission reports, it will be able to suggest some remedy for these monstrous abuses.

#### FLOODS AND DROUGHTS.

THE year that ends to-morrow must be pronounced more fortunate than 1875, in that it has only had one flood instead of two. In 1875 we had occasion both in the early summer and in the late autumn to preach the same sermon from the same text. In 1876 the homily has not been needed till December. But, now that the flood has come, it appears to be in all respects as disastrous as the floods of last year. It is more and more evident that, from one cause or another, the country is more exposed to injury from this source than it used to be. There is not more water to be disposed of, but it has to be disposed of in a very much shorter time. Indeed, as regards the actual quantity of rain, the floods were needed to bring it up to the average of a long course of years. Without them we should have suffered more and more continuously from the droughts which now recur almost regularly whenever there is not a flood. But the soil is no longer capable of holding the rain which it was once in no such hurry to get rid of. Formerly the land was like a sponge, and when it had once got thoroughly saturated, it took all that the spring had to give in the way of drying winds, and all that the summer had to give in the way of drying heats, to draw the water out of it. Now the sponge is filled as before, but it is squeezed as soon as it is filled. Every field has its drain pipes, which carry the moisture that used to stand through the winter into the nearest brook. The streams into which these flow are swollen like mountain torrents by the sudden discharge of the water that used to filter into them in the course of weeks or months. Neither these streams nor the larger rivers into which they flow have any greater capacity for receiving water than they used to have. Their powers remain the same; it is only the demand on them that has increased. This is the commonplace explanation of the floods that are becoming an ordinary feature of the English winter. The same quantity of rain falls on the earth, but it falls upon soil which drainage has made a conduit pipe instead of a filter.

It must always be remembered, however, that the diffi-



culty of disposing of the surplus water is not the only difficulty which the very perfection of agricultural drainage has brought upon us. If the actual quantity of water has not increased, and the only change is in the rapidity with which it is carried away, we might expect the consequences to be serious as regards the wells on which the majority of Englishmen still depend for their supply of water for use in the household. If we compare in imagination the history of a fall of rain as it was under the old system, and the history of a fall of rain as it is under the new system, we shall see at once how great the change has been. Of the moisture which is now carried away to the sea almost as soon as it has reached the earth, a great part was formerly retained for months. In this way the springs were kept constantly flowing, and their surplus water was stored in the wells. Now there is very much less of this process. When the rainy season comes to an end, the wells may be scarcely appreciably fuller than they were at the beginning of it. As we said just now, the average quantity of rain falling is the same, and it cannot go both to flood the rivers and to feed the springs. Excess on one side means defect on the other. This makes the spectacle of a flood doubly painful. It tells of water which is not wanted where it is, and which will by and by be sorely wanted where it will not be. It is doing terrible mischief by its presence now, and it will do equal mischief by its absence later on. The mere money loss from these two causes must be immense. Year after year the low-lying lands in many parts of the country are under water for days or weeks. If the ground is sown the seed is very possibly destroyed; if the ground is not sown it cannot be got at perhaps until after the time for sowing has gone by. Then there is the damage to farm buildings of all kinds, and the entire suspension of farm work for weeks together, which means ultimate loss in money to the farmer and immediate loss of wages to the labourer. When the floods have gone down and the hot weather has set in, the drought which commonly follows brings its own special forms of loss with it. Cattle cannot be fattened, and have often to be sold for sheer want of water to give them; or, if they are kept, time, money, and strength have to be wasted in driving them for miles to some pond or river which is full even in the driest years. Nor is it only direct money loss that these opposite evils bring in their train. Disease is equally generated by flood and by drought. To live in a house the basement of which is yearly some feet deep in water, and to be reduced to drink of wells or ditches in which there is less water than sewage, are the lot of hundreds of thousands of the poor throughout the country. The latter mischief is distributed over a very much wider area than the former. It is only in the neighbourhood of the larger rivers or their immediate tributaries that floods are very destructive; but the rapid withdrawal of the water which is the cause of floods is almost universal.

Up to a certain point, therefore, the cure for floods is also the cure for drought. It is plain that we cannot abolish our system of agricultural drainage. The water must continue to be removed from the land. But the whole of it need not, as now, be carried off into the rivers, and thence into the sea. It would be possible to store a great deal of it in tanks, where it would be available for future use. For farm purposes rain-water thus kept would be as good as spring-water, if not better. It would not be equally suited for human consumption; but, if we consider what sort of water is actually consumed by a great number of persons, we shall not be disposed to insist very strongly on the impurity of rain-water. In villages it is usually impossible, before analysis, to feel any certainty that a given well is not polluted by sewage. The cottages are built very near one another, and usually with curious disregard of their respective levels. Even where the house stands apart from others, the well is as often as not in dangerous proximity to the cesspool; and even if it is safe on this score, the increased use of strong manures is not calculated to make the springs purer. This latter objection would of course apply equally to rain-water which had been drawn from the surface of the land; but the tanks which would be available for drinking would usually be filled by water collected from roofs and other surfaces, which would yield a disproportionately large amount. In these ways, supposing them to be largely employed, the contents of the rivers during flood would be considerably lessened. Instead of wasting in winter the water that

is commonly so urgently needed in summer, we should store it in winter and use it in summer. No doubt other means of keeping down floods would still be required; but, in proportion as the amount of water to be dealt with became more manageable, there would be more encouragement to undertake the necessary works.

Unfortunately, to deal with floods and drought in this way would be a very serious financial operation. Building tanks is a costly business. If they are above ground the material is expensive, if they are underground the labour is expensive. Where new houses are being built it may be possible to include a rain-water tank among the fittings at no very great additional outlay; but, as regards the great majority of the houses already built, the tenant has often not the power to erect one, while the landlord, if he has the power, may not have the will. It is one of those cases in which more co-operation is needed than can be obtained without invoking the aid of the community. If the results of being without water are as bad as they have now been made to appear, the community could hardly be better employed than in devising a scheme which should enable the local authorities to take the need of a better water supply into serious consideration. Before, however, this can be attempted to any good purpose, some general scheme must be proposed which shall bring home to each local authority what is the duty that devolves upon it, what is the outlay that the performance of this duty will involve, and what are the means by which this outlay must be provided. These requirements point to a suggestion which we have made before, and which we shall make no apology for repeating now. Royal Commissions are not usually very good instruments of practical reforms; but in this case the issue of a Royal Commission seems to be the only mode in which the necessary information can be collected both as to mechanical and as to financial obstacles, and as to the best means of surmounting them. The water supply of England is as faulty and as intermittent as it was when we first made this suggestion, and if it is left to isolated individual or municipal efforts to mend matters, there is every chance that they will go unattended. There would be no need to make the Commission unwieldy in size or unmanageable in scope. Nor would it be incumbent upon the Commissioners to examine very many witnesses. Most of the information they would want is probably already in existence, and only needs to be reduced to systematic form, and to have the proper inferences deduced from it, to supply the Commissioners with all the data they would need as the basis of their suggestions.

#### THE NAVY.

WE put together a few paragraphs which have lately appeared in the newspapers in regard to the present condition of the British navy, and which speak for themselves. The first is from the *Times* of Thursday:—

"It is understood that orders have been telegraphed to Rear-Admiral ROWLEY LAMBERT, commanding the Detached Squadron, to return to England forthwith, as the condition of affairs in China no longer calls for the retention of the Squadron. In consequence of the highly defective state of their machinery, it is expected that the ships will sail home by way of the Cape and St. Vincent." It may be assumed that, if the state of the machinery of these vessels was such as described during the time when the condition of affairs in China did call, or might have called, for the services of the Squadron, it could not have been of much use.

The next item is from the *Daily News* of December 19:—  
"The *Dana*, 12, screw corvette, Captain J. C. PURVIS, seems likely to be as unfortunate as the *Shah*. She has been for nearly three months under orders for the East, but a most unsatisfactory account of her behaviour on her further trial to-day is given. She made only about ten knots, and her boilers primed heavily; she has had in fact to come into harbour again, and it is by no means certain that her crew will not have to be transferred to some other vessel."

The *Times* did not refer to this subject till the 21st, when the following information appeared in its "Naval and Military Intelligence":—

"The boilers of the *Dana*, screw sloop of war, which ought to have arrived on the East India Station some months ago, have fairly beaten them, and not only them, but the engineers of the Steam Reserve and the Admi-

"rally as well. All have tried their hands upon them without any diminution of priming resulting, and there now remains nothing to be done but to turn the officers and crew over to the *Turquoise*, and to take the boilers out of the ship." It is added that, such was the "persistent and incurable priming," that at one time "the engines refused absolutely to perform their work, and the ship was brought to a standstill." It will be remembered that, even on board the *Serapis*, to which, as the PRINCE OF WALES'S ship, special attention was of course given, similar difficulties occurred.

Under such circumstances as those above stated it is perhaps not surprising to find that the Admiralty has at last begun to lose patience. From a recent paragraph in the *Hampshire Telegraph* we learn that

"The Lords of the Admiralty have just sent to the Steam Reserves a memorandum concerning the recent breakdowns and defects discovered in the machinery of ships which have been a long time in the Reserve, and therefore should be thoroughly effective when so reported. The fact that ships in the first division have upon trial been found to be anything but fit to get up steam and make a run upon the mile is held to show most conclusively that there is a want of supervision. Responsible officers have now been reminded of their responsibility, and the engineer department is urged to exercise more watchfulness, and to display a little more energy and efficiency."

#### THE YEAR.

THE year that is now drawing to an end has been a year in which the minds of men have been more and more converging to one centre of thought and interest. It has been the year of the Eastern Question, and the main history of the year has been the history of the gradual importance which this question has assumed, of the divergences of opinion to which it has given rise, and of the conflicting forces which it has called into play. The year began with the Andrassy Note, which suggested the most timid reforms in a very limited degree; and it has ended in a Conference of the Great Powers sitting in Constantinople itself, on the decision of which the possibility of averting a great and terrible and perhaps general war depends. Nothing else that has happened in the year is of much moment in comparison with the series of events which have illustrated or affected the condition of Turkey. And in the history of these events there are three marked stages. In the first period, from the discussion of the Andrassy Note at the opening of the year to the beginning of July, when the Servian war commenced, Turkey, after having undergone an internal revolution, suppressed the Bulgarian insurrection, and escaped the threatened intervention of the Great Powers, through the opposition of England, was finally left to fight out its quarrel with Servia and Montenegro. In the second period, from the outbreak of the Servian war to the imposition of an armistice by the ultimatum of Russia, Turkey, having succeeded in the field, found itself in presence of England agreeing to an intervention, and of Russia threatening war. In the last two months of the year fighting has ceased, and at length a Conference has met at Constantinople, the object of which is, so far at least as England is concerned, to devise some form of intervention which shall avert war. A resolute opposition to intervention, a general agreement to intervention, and an endeavour to shape intervention so as to secure peace, have thus been the three successive characteristics of English policy; and the history of the Eastern question during the year may be conveniently arranged according to the sequence of changes in the policy of the country which has exercised the most commanding influence on the fortunes and counsels of Turkey.

The Andrassy Note was an intimation to the Porte of the mode in which the Great Powers thought it ought to treat the insurgents in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It recommended the establishment of religious equality, the abolition of the system of tithe-farming, an application of the greater part of the direct taxes to local purposes, the institution of a local Commission to carry out its provisions, and a land settlement favouring the emancipated Christian serfs. Austria, knowing the wants and grievances of a contiguous territory, desired the influence of the Great Powers to be brought to bear on Turkey. Few persons in England knew or cared much about the Bosnian insurrection; but Lord Stratford de Redcliffe wrote a letter early in the year, in which he declared it to be the result of his long Eastern experience that Turkey must be placed under the tutelage of Europe. Turkey after some hesitation was willing to accept the Note. The English Government alone hesitated. Following in the steps of its immediate predecessors, and of all English statesmen who had held office since the Crimean War, it looked on the Treaty of Paris as a solemn record that in the great interests of general peace Turkey must be left to manage its own affairs, and Count Andrassy had avowedly recommended his Note as a means of establishing the principle that Turkey was bound to listen to the advice of Europe. As, however, Turkey itself wished that England should mitigate the pressure of the other Powers by acting with them, the English Government ended by accepting the Note. The

insurgents nevertheless persisted in continuing the insurrection, and achieved some slight successes. So things went on, until in May Europe was startled by the massacre of the French and German Consuls at Salonica, under circumstances which seemed to threaten general danger to the Christian population. The representatives of the league of the three Emperors met at Berlin; and, now impelled, not by Austria, but by Russia, to whom the increasing probability of Servia taking part in the struggle gave new aims, drew up the Berlin Memorandum. This was a great step beyond the Andrassy Note; for it not only invited Europe to take precautions against further massacres in Turkish coast towns like Salonica, but it stated that the insurgents could not trust the Porte; it asked for a delegation of Consuls to supervise reforms; it demanded an armistice, and hinted that if the armistice did not end in a satisfactory peace more effectual measures would be taken. The English Government peremptorily rejected the Memorandum. Its form was offensive, for it was like a summons from the Emperors to England to obey them. It embodied a distinct proposal of intervention in the shape of a Consular Delegation, and it spoke vaguely of more effectual measures. It was altogether opposed to the policy of saving Turkey from all intervention, which the English Government thought the sheet-anchor of peace. The refusal of England was not only approved here, but soon appeared to be by no means distasteful to many in other countries. It was in vain that the representatives of the other Powers, and none more warmly than those of Austria and France, pressed Lord Derby to make some counter proposals. The English fleet was sent to Besika Bay, and its mission subsequently received different explanations; but Lord Derby never wavered in his account, and always stated that it was sent merely to protect such Christians as foreign Consuls from massacre. He was quite willing to do this; but he would not interfere, and would agree to no interference with the Turkish Government. Servia, alleging that this attitude of England made all hope of a peaceful settlement impossible, made ready for war, and declared war in conjunction with Montenegro at the beginning of July. The conduct of Servia was denounced subsequently by Lord Beaconsfield as outrageously wicked. But the denunciations of the Premier are not part of the Ministerial policy. Lord Derby's simple view was that, if Turkey and its insurgent and tributary provinces liked to go to war, they must fight it out. His only business was to make a ring, and see that none of the spectators assisted the combatants.

Meanwhile events of the greatest ultimate importance had been taking place in Turkey itself. The Sultan Abdul Aziz had sunk into the last stage of impotence, and was believed to be the tool of Russia, which, it was said, had generously offered him a garrison of Russian troops to protect him in his capital. A revolution was fomented by the ecclesiastical party among the Moslems, and by the party which wished to see Turkey independent and energetic. The highest ecclesiastical authority pronounced that Abdul Aziz was unfit to reign, and, without any opposition, he was seized and deposed, and his life soon came to an end by a voluntary or compulsory suicide. Murad V. was announced as the new Sultan, to the delight of Sir Henry Elliot, who informed his Government that there was the greatest enthusiasm for England at Constantinople. The new reign, however, began inauspiciously. The Sultan was so imbecile that it was judged impossible to install him in due form at the Mosque of Eyoub; and an assassin broke into the room where the new Ministers were assembled, killed two of them, and wounded a third. The imbecility of Sultans and the fury of assassins were, however, as nothing beside the fatal step which Turkey had taken—a step which profoundly affected European opinion, changed the policy of England, and made Turkey stand as a criminal before the bar of Europe. The Bulgarian massacres had been organized and executed. There had been an insurrection among the Bulgarians—not at all a dangerous one, and confined within narrow limits. But the Porte determined to strike a blow which should for ages take away from the Bulgarians all appetite for revolt. It ravaged villages, it destroyed districts, it took away 12,000 lives. Men, women, and children met a common death, or, if women were spared, they were spared to satisfy the passions of their tyrants. Regular troops, Bashi Bazouks, and local Mahomedans all joined in carrying out what had been designed, or in enjoying the license accorded them. To go through the tale of horrors is unnecessary, for all the horrors that can be imagined were realized; but the special instance of Batuk is never to be forgotten. There Achmet Aga, having made the population defenceless by inducing them to surrender their arms on the most solemn pledge of being spared if they obeyed, put five thousand persons to death by fire and sword, while eighty women were carried off. Nor was the blow merely a momentary one. It had been planned and executed in the first instance by the Government of Abdul Aziz; but it was countenanced by the Ministry of the new Sultan; the chief actors were complimented and rewarded, and even months afterwards the English Government had to complain that the reign of terror was still continuing. Lord Derby said on one occasion, in explanation of his policy, that he thought himself bound to protect Turkey against murder, but not against decay or suicide. Whether Turkey was suffering from incurable decay was a matter as to which opinions might differ; but no one could doubt that, if ever a government tried successfully to commit suicide, it was the Government of the Porte when it organized, or, in its own apologetic language, avowed itself unable to avert or restrain, the massacre of the Bulgarians.



It was long before the nature and extent, and still longer before the origin, of the Bulgarian atrocities was known in England. When, at the end of June and the beginning of July, some fragmentary reports of what had happened arrived, the first thought of Mr. Disraeli was to doubt the authenticity and extenuate the importance of these reports. The English Ambassador had not known anything of the massacres, and all that was alleged might be either set down to the mendacity of newspapers, or accounted for by the difficulty which all Governments experience when, in critical moments, irregular troops and local agents have to be used to suppress insurrections. It was quite in accordance with the whole of the previous policy of the Ministry to wish that the Turks should be shown to have given no handle for intervention; but Mr. Disraeli imprudently so shaped his language as to suggest that he thought it foolish to make any fuss about the Turkish mode of suppressing an insurrection, and that to question Turkish virtue was somehow to attack the policy of the Ministry. Fortunately, Lord Derby was much more moderate. At the beginning of July, when, in a debate in the Lords, the staunch supporters of the old Palmerstonian policy (as, with some injustice to Lord Palmerston, it was called) denounced the slightest attack on the sacred ark of Turkish independence, Lord Derby replied that, unless Turkey made its subjects contented, he did not see how it was to last. In the middle of the month he intimated to a deputation that the Ministry desired to obey the wishes of the country, and that it would be very useful if the country would but speak out, supposing it wished a change in the policy of England. By the end of the month, the extent of the atrocities was known, and he expressed his conviction that the Great Powers must settle the future of the Christians in Turkey. The policy of England was thenceforth changed. At the end of May Lord Derby had upheld a rigid policy of non-intervention. At the end of July he confessed that intervention was unavoidable. The leading Liberals had passed through the same change, but, having none of the restraints of office to encumber them, they had given full play to the enthusiasm of converts; and whereas at the beginning of July old Palmerstonians like Lord Napier and Lord Hammond had been much more Turkish than Lord Derby, at the end of the month Sir William Harcourt declared in the Commons that he hoped that England had now done with the Turks for ever. Thenceforward to the end of the second period, when the Russian ultimatum terminated the delays of diplomacy, there was on the one hand the Ministry seeking after some plan of intervention cautiously, moderately, and with a consciousness of great and pressing difficulties and dangers, and, on the other hand, there were the enthusiastic converts to the new policy, partly, but not wholly, led by the chiefs of the Opposition, calling for intervention as immediate and sweeping as possible, and ignoring all difficulties and all dangers.

This way of looking at things found its culminating and most typical expression in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet. That pamphlet was as vigorous an appeal as could have been made to the humane and generous sentiments of the nation, but it was not the work of an impartial judge or of a statesman. It cursed the whole Turkish race in one sweeping condemnation, and its solution of all difficulties was to deport the Turks bodily into Asia. Mr. Gladstone explained that he meant only to get rid of the Turkish Government, and by a comical chance it so happened that Garibaldi made almost at the same time the same recommendation, and had to limit it by the same explanation. Enthusiasm was the order of the day. England was deeply stirred, and a resolution to stand aloof from Turkey became a fixed idea of the nation. But, although there were grounds both for the enthusiasm and the resolution, there was nothing like statesmanship or political knowledge in the form in which they were expressed. The one idea of the enthusiasts was to get some one—perhaps not England, for that would have been expensive, but Russia or any one else—to punish the wicked Turks, and do with them and with Turkey what they pleased. It was impossible for Lord Derby to look at things in this easy way. He had to consider what was possible and what was desirable. To his newly-formed resolution to protect the Christian subjects of Turkey he, and it may be added his colleagues, resolutely adhered. Lord Beaconsfield again interfered to do as much harm as he could. He said at Aylesbury that he knew that the policy of the Ministry was not in harmony with that desired by the country, and that those who took advantage of the Bulgarian horrors to exaggerate them were worse than those who committed them. A more temperate speaker might have said, with perfect truth and without any offence, that the Ministry had to work with a sense of responsibility and an appreciation of Continental opposition and English interests which could not be understood by those who looked on things in the easy way which passion and an absence of responsibility suggest, and that it was unfortunate when such a man as Mr. Gladstone forgot the lessons and duties of statesmanship in a fit of generous enthusiasm. However, Lord Beaconsfield said the wrong thing, or at least the right thing in the wrong way. A storm arose. The Ministry narrowly escaped defeat in the Buckinghamshire election; Mr. Gladstone showed an increasing spirit of party, and, in company with Mr. Lowe, who always makes things as unpleasant as possible, and with some who are ordinarily cooler, began to demand an autumn Session, and to taunt the Ministry with being afraid to test the opinion of the country by a dissolution. The Ministry, however, stuck to its text. It was doing what the country wished, but it was doing it only so far as was practicable, and so that great evils might be avoided. Lord Derby renewed his protestation that he wished to be guided by those whom he termed the employers of the Ministry.

Sir Stafford Northcote stated, in the strongest language, that the Ministry was not hampered by any adherence to traditional policy. Lord Carnarvon, after deploring the atrocities in language pleasing even to the fiercest enthusiasts, made the epigrammatic remark that we had to deal with Turkey, which was half-dead, and its Christian subjects, who were half-alive. At a later date, Mr. Cross declared that it would be absurd to trust any more to the waste-paper currency of Turkish promises. But the Ministry was firm in saying that it must carry out its good intentions in its own way. An autumn Session would be useless, as the Ministry must act for the country, and could only tell Parliament what it had done. It must take notice of the jealousy of Austria. It could not allow a Russian occupation of Constantinople, the mere prospect of which had already calmed the ardour of many of the enthusiasts. It could not forget that the Turkish Christians had many faults, and the Turks some virtues. Gradually the Ministry made the country see that it was right. If, in the first instance, the country did not so much convert the Ministry as fortify it in its conversion, in the end the Ministry converted the country to a recognition of the necessity of looking at the Eastern question as a whole, and not attempting to solve it by the infantine suggestions of sentimentalism.

The Servians and Montenegrins took the field at the beginning of July. They never combined their forces, and a desultory war went on for some months in Montenegro, with the balance of advantage on the side of the Montenegrins, who gained some conspicuous successes, especially at Urbitz. The Servians, under the Russian General Tchernayeff, at first assumed the offensive, but they were soon driven back into their own territory, and on the 4th of August a Turkish victory compelled them to abandon Saitchkar and all the Timok valley. Lord Derby, in his desire to terminate a hopeless contest, intimated that England would be ready to mediate, and this offer was accepted by Prince Milan on the 24th of August. Pressure was put on the Porte to grant an armistice of not less than one month, with a view to arrange terms of peace; and in the middle of September an answer was received from Constantinople, where a new change had just deposed Sultan Murad and put Abdul Hamid on the throne. The Porte intimated its willingness to make peace, on terms not very unfavourable to Serbia if looked on simply as a conquered tributary; but quite inconsistent with the notion that Serbia was protected by Europe, and that reforms must be introduced in the insurgent provinces. At the same time it was stated that orders had been given for a suspension of arms. The fighting had still been going on, and at the beginning of September the Turks gained a very considerable victory under Abdul Kerim, and were in a position to have occupied the great Serbian stronghold of Alexinat, had they pushed the advantage they obtained. England approved the suspension of arms, and Lord Derby communicated to Count Schouvaloff the terms on which he thought peace might be made; local autonomy being given to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a similar provision, to an undefined extent, being made for Bulgaria. In reply to the questions of Austria, which was now anxious to protect itself and Turkey against Russia, Lord Derby explained that he meant by local autonomy that the population should have some control over its own affairs, but that there was no question of forming tributary States. Turkey would not accept the English terms of peace, but offered to prolong the suspension of arms a few days longer. But Serbia, animated by the influx of Russian volunteers and by the outburst of public feeling in England against Turkey, declined this, and fighting recommenced. The conduct of Serbia was now entirely dictated by Tchernayeff, who persuaded the army to declare Prince Milan king, by way of a challenge to Turkey and the Great Powers. Milan was not at all in a position to accept the new dignity, for the fate of his army and country was very uncertain. In order to bring to an issue affairs which were daily growing more complicated, Russia proposed, at the end of September, a general armed intervention, Austria occupying Bosnia, Russia occupying Bulgaria, and the allied fleets operating in the Dardanelles; or, if the Powers thought the means of coercion sufficient, the fleets to operate alone, and no Russian and Austrian occupation to be effected. Lord Derby declined armed intervention in any shape; and, as Turkey could not be brought to accept the English terms of peace without further negotiations, Lord Derby suggested that all discussion as to the terms of peace should be laid aside, and that the Porte should be pressed to agree to a regular armistice. Russia consented to this; mentioning, however, that the armistice should be for six weeks. Lord Derby, however, had not asked the Porte for an armistice of six weeks, but for one of not less than a month; and Sir H. Elliot was told to leave Constantinople unless an armistice of this kind were agreed to. The Porte said that it would agree to an armistice of six months, and Lord Derby accepted this at once, without consulting Russia. Serbia, with the countenance of Russia, would not agree to an armistice of six months, which Russia declared to be a dangerous prolongation of European uncertainty. The war went on, until at the end of October the Servians were utterly defeated, and Alexinat was taken. General Ignatieff, who had by this time returned to Constantinople, was pressing very hard for an armistice to the Russian taste, and seemed to be on the point of succeeding, when the collapse of the Servians precipitated matters, and he was instructed to demand an armistice of two months, and to leave Constantinople if it was refused. It was granted, and there was an end of a war which for Serbia had been most disastrous, but which had led to results of momentous importance to Serbia, to Turkey, and to Europe.

The English proposal for an armistice had been accompanied by a proposal for a Conference, and as to the expediency of this Austria raised many doubts and difficulties. But Austria accepted the armistice for six months, as did France, while Italy demurred, and Germany stated that it thought an armistice for six months would do very well, yet, as Russia preferred an armistice for six weeks, that also would do very well. After its failure to arrange an armistice, England announced that it would not make any further efforts, but would wait to see what was done by others. But when the Russian ultimatum secured an armistice, Russia asked England to renew the proposal for a Conference. The excitement of Russia in favour of active intervention had by this time grown to a great height, and was not damped even by the reluctance of the Servians to fight, and the consequent slaughter of the Russian volunteers who had been allowed to pour for weeks into Serbia, in defiance of the ordinary rules of international law. From the moment when it had delivered its ultimatum Russia openly prepared for war. An internal loan of twelve millions sterling was raised, and the mobilization of the army commenced in earnest. But great efforts were made to conciliate and reassure England, and the Czar stated to Lord Augustus Loftus, and desired to have it published to the English nation, that he pledged himself not to make territorial conquests in European Turkey and had no designs on Constantinople. The general tone of the Ministry has been conciliatory towards Russia, and Lord Derby has on more than one occasion expressed his anxiety to co-operate with Russia, and his wish not to have it supposed that he distrusted the Czar and his Government. That the Ministry would oppose Russia in arms merely to uphold the bad government of Turkey is a supposition contrary to every indication of its policy. But it was properly anxious to avert the horrors of a war between Russia and Turkey, and it was reasonably anxious as to the ultimate consequences of a Russian occupation of Turkish territory, as, although due credit may be given to the Czar's sincerity, it was obvious that it might be easier to get his troops into Turkey than to get them out. When again Prince Gortchakoff suggested that, if Russia and England were agreed, they might settle everything, this was to ignore so completely the famous league of the three Emperors as to be sure so give umbrage to Germany. It was not long before Prince Bismarck broke the silence he had long maintained, and plainly declared that he wished to preserve the historical friendship of Germany both with Russia and with England, and that Germany would remain as neutral as possible; but that, if the interests of Austria were threatened, Germany would come to her aid. This was a striking confirmation of what the English Ministry had repeatedly affirmed, that the interests and opinions to be taken into consideration were innumerable. The policy of the Ministry only needed to be understood to be generally approved; but unfortunately Lord Beaconsfield for a third time created a wanton and unnecessary difficulty. He made a flaming speech at the Mansion House, threatening Russia with one campaign after another, and did the Czar the great injustice of concealing the solemn and emphatic pledges which he had given some days previously. The Czar had at least the right to ask that his pledges should be taken for what they were worth; and it was not surprising that on the next day he should have been spurred to declare at Moscow that, if necessary, he would make Turkey do justice although he acted alone, while at the same time he himself overstepped the bounds of caution and stirred much jealousy in German breasts by speaking of the movement he was to lead as that of all Slavonic nations. Principally owing to Lord Beaconsfield's imprudence, and partly owing to the persistent failure of enthusiasts to bestow sufficient attention on the intricacies of the subject which excited them, agitation recommenced in England. Mr. Bright preached a crusade, and turned with longing eyes to the sweet prospect of infidels being put to the sword. A meeting, misnamed a Conference, was held at St. James's Hall to guide an ignorant, and to denounce an erring, Ministry. Meantime, however, the arrangements for a Conference at Constantinople were successfully pursued. With the general approval of men of all ranks and parties, Lord Salisbury was despatched as the special representative of England, and, on his way to the East, took the opportunity of learning the final opinions of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome. The Conference met, its preliminary consultations are understood to have been of an amicable nature, and, as the Russian excitement seems to be diminishing as the dangers and cost of war and the military strength which still remains to Turkey are better appreciated, it may be hoped that the result of the Conference will be satisfactory, and that, while, in the language of Sir Stafford Northcote, solid guarantees for the good government of the Christians in Turkey are devised, war may be averted. The recent appointment as Grand Vizier of Midhat Pasha, who has begun his administration by launching one more of those grand constitutions so dear to modern Turks as a substitute for arrangements inspired by the Great Powers, may prove a new obstacle. But it, like all other forms of Turkish resistance to moderate and sensible proposals, may be surmounted, and the Conference must be expected to succeed until it is known to have failed.

Attention had already been drawn to Eastern affairs at the beginning of the year by the purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, and the first task of Parliament was to ratify the step taken by the Ministry. Scarcely any opposition was offered to the project, and such doubts as had been raised as to the position acquired by England were tranquillized by the remark of Lord Derby that, whatever might be the precise amount of voting power

acquired, attention must be paid to the wishes and views of a proprietor holding as many shares as England. The Government had, however, not only purchased the shares from the Khedive. They had sent out Mr. Cave on a rambling mission to look into the Khedive's affairs; and, although Mr. Cave made an able and valuable Report, the Khedive was treated very unfairly by an intrusion into his business made for no purpose, and so conducted as to do all the harm possible to his credit. He had in the spring to avow his insolvency, and in May published a decree sacrificing the holders of his funded debt and giving a large bonus to the holders of the floating debt. The English bondholders loudly protested, and at length induced Mr. Goschen to take up their cause; and he succeeded in making an arrangement which gives all the public creditors of the Khedive a fair chance of being paid, if only the Khedive will live on a handsome allowance, and not go further into debt.

The Royal Titles Bill was at once the most prominent measure of the Session and the greatest impediment to the progress of general business, as it excited a legitimate and successful opposition, and was keenly debated at every stage. Here, again, Lord Beaconsfield did as much harm as possible to his party by making the Bill ridiculous. He set aside the claims of the Colonies to an equality of honour by the curious assertion that, as some colonists came to England and were received at Court, the Colonies had already got all they could want; and he ended by revealing as a wonderful State secret that the real object of the Bill was to frighten Russia. But the present Ministry has always so far luck or wit on its side that the folly of one of its members is retrieved by the sense of another, and the Chancellor made a conciliatory speech, declaring that he regarded the title of Queen as far higher than that of Empress, and that everything possible should be done to keep the Imperial title strictly local to India. This was what the Opposition wanted, and, although some difficulty was found in drawing up the Proclamation so as to accord with the promises of the Chancellor, the general result has been satisfactory, and we have not heard anything of Empress in England. At the same time, even Lord Beaconsfield had his private consolation; for, reckless and imprudent as he is, he is never quite so reckless and imprudent as Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Lowe delivered himself into his hands by a statement that two Premiers had already refused to let the Queen be called Empress. This statement was at once a glaring breach of confidence and totally unfounded, and Mr. Lowe had to make a humble apology in the House. The other Bills carried by the Government in the Session were the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill, a Commons Enclosure Bill, the Merchant Shipping Bill, and the Elementary Education Bill, all fairly sound and useful, and the last an important measure. Time prevented the passing of the University Bills and the Prisons Bill, though the last was a popular and salutary measure, and the former suggested rather than contained many necessary reforms. The Government got out of its perplexities as to Fugitive Slaves by referring the matter to a Commission, and ultimately, when this Commission had reported, issued a final Circular defining the duties of English commanders so vaguely that officers were practically in the same position in which they were before the controversy began. A dispute also arose between England and the United States as to the construction of the Extradition Treaty between the two countries, in which the Americans had the best of the argument, and Lord Derby has subsequently acceded to their views. The Budget passed with ease, and almost without attention; for it really contained only one new item—the imposition of another penny of Income-tax, accompanied by concessions to the poorer payers of the tax, so as to throw the burden of increased taxation exclusively on those who are at once moderately well off and powerless to resist. The extra penny was needed in a great measure to meet the increased cost of the army; and Mr. Hardy was able to show that the money was really needed, and would be wisely expended, and to convince the country that earnest and fairly successful efforts were being made to manage the army well. Far different has been the history of the navy. It has never been so badly managed within living memory. One instance of mismanagement succeeds another, and disaster thickens on disaster. The dreadful catastrophe of the *Thunderer*, the breakdown of the *Alexandra* and the *Shah*, and the wanton loss of the *Tenedos* and the *Windsor Castle*, show, among many other glaring instances, how very badly under the present régime British ships can be built and navigated. The return of the Arctic Expedition, however, awakened some degree of national pride in the navy. For, though the expedition had been a failure, it had not been a failure through any want of care and liberality on the part of the Admiralty, or of science and courage on the part of those concerned in it. How scurvy proved to be so prevalent has yet to be explained, and there has been an excessive disposition to praise British sailors for being like themselves; but still the general history of the Expedition is creditable to the Administration, to the country, and to all engaged in it. On the whole it may be said that the Ministry has not lost, if it has not gained, in reputation during the year. Perhaps what might have seemed a great drawback to it, the transfer of the Premier to the Lords, may prove a positive advantage. In the middle of August Mr. Disraeli accepted an earldom, and bade adieu to the House which he had so long instructed, commanded, and amused. The resignation of Lord Malmesbury enabled him to assume the easy duties of the Privy Seal, and the vacancy in the Cabinet was filled up by the introduction of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, while the leadership of the



Commons was assigned to Sir Stafford Northcote, who, if he says little that is brilliant, will say nothing that is rash, and who may be at least trusted to attain his own ideal and resemble a comfortable Master of Hounds as closely as possible.

Lord Carnarvon's management of the Colonies continues to be prudent, conciliatory, and firm. The outbreak in the Malay Peninsula having been subdued, an attempt has been made to secure tranquillity without annexation by trusting to the control of British Residents appointed to watch over the local chiefs. The King of Dahomey in a different part of the world has ventured to beard the power of England, and has had the outlet of his miserable commerce blocked in consequence. The quarrels of Canada and British Columbia have been allayed, if not ended, by Lord Dufferin, and peace has been restored in Barbadoes, where a dispute arose between the planters and Mr. Pope Hennessy, in which both parties were wrong, but the Governor was not nearly so wrong as he had been at first asserted to be, and in the suppression of a negro riot he was both resolute and merciful. He fairly earned the right to stay on until a more lucrative place was found for him at Hong Kong. Of all our colonies, none except the Cape causes much immediate anxiety. There Lord Carnarvon has made some progress towards mitigating the jealousies and distrust which threatened to defeat the scheme of federation which he favoured; but unfortunately a serious danger has been caused by the neighbouring Transvaal Republic, which first provoked the Kafirs into a war and then failed to beat them; and successes gained over any white men may embolden the natives to disturb the peace of English settlements. In India the visit of the Prince of Wales was continued and concluded with remarkable and uniform success, and evoked constant expressions of contentment among the natives and of loyalty among the chiefs. In the course of the year Lord Northbrook was replaced by Lord Lytton, whose appointment showed that a poet may, in the judgment of a Ministry, be capable of being also a statesman. It is much too soon as yet to judge whether this appointment, which showed commendable boldness on the part of those who made it, will be justified by the result. The fall in silver crippled for a time the finances of India, and the Viceroy had no choice but to urge and insist on the strictest economy. Lord Lytton has shown more impetuosity and sentimental good feeling than wisdom in the efforts he has made to lower and rebuke the judicial and civil services in the interest of the natives; but he has acted with promptness in Khelat, and has strengthened the outposts of India on the road to Herat; and he has organized and will preside over, with equal aptitude and delight, the approaching splendid ceremonial when the Queen will be proclaimed as Empress at Delhi. It is fortunate that before the ceremonial takes place one threatening source of disturbance in the East should have been removed by the Treaty of Chefoo, concluded after the Yunnan mission had successfully reached Calcutta, in which China finally assented to the demands of England, humbled herself for the murder of Mr. Margary, opened the road for trade with Burnah, and established foreigners in a much more recognized and secure position than had previously been conceded.

The United States have claimed and exercised the right to have an Exhibition as well as other great countries, and the Philadelphia show has been quite as big and as successful as any of its predecessors. But otherwise things have not been very bright in America. General Grant's Presidency is drawing to a close, and if it was ever thought possible that a third term of office should be accorded to him, the expectation died away with the disclosures of the very high places to which corruption had reached. The Secretary of War only escaped impeachment through a technical doubt as to whether he could be impeached after his resignation of office had been accepted; but that he, or at any rate his wife, had taken money for the sale of offices was unquestionable, and the President's Private Secretary was strongly suspected, though it was not proved, to have been a party to the gigantic whisky frauds. In a fit of economical reaction the House of Representatives cut down the incomes of diplomatists, halved the President's salary, and temporarily deprived some of the public offices of the necessities of existence. The resignation of General Schenck, who had to repair home to explain his connexion with the Emma Mine, caused a vacancy in the representation of the United States in London, and Mr. Dana was at first nominated to the post; but his appointment was cancelled by the Senate, partly because he had been engaged in a controversy with Mr. Lawrence as to the authorship of certain notes on a text-book of International Law, and partly because he wrote a letter in which he said he scorned to appear and defend himself. After incessant wire-pulling and caballing Mr. Hayes was selected as the Republican, and Mr. Tilden as the Democratic, candidate for the Presidency. Both pledged themselves to economical and administrative reform, and to the maintenance of a sound currency; but there was some little difference, if not in their policy, yet in their feeling, towards the South, and there was the great question between them whether the party in office was to stay in, or whether the party that was out should have its turn. When the elections in most of the States had been made known, it was supposed that Mr. Tilden was within one vote of the requisite majority, and that he could only be beaten if Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida could be carried by the Republicans. Instantly began a fierce struggle, fraud and violence being freely imputed to each side by its opponents. On the mere face of the returns the Republicans were successful in those States; but, on the other hand, the Governor of Oregon had passed over a Republican elector whom he judged to be legally incompetent, and returned a Democrat. The mode in which

disputed returns were to be dealt with under the Constitution was so far doubtful as to be made a matter of keen controversy, and great fury of party feeling was displayed in arguing by anticipation as to what was to be done. But the mass of the people are very averse to seeing so conspicuous a failure in their Constitution proclaimed to the world, as would be indicated by the President depending on an unjust manoeuvre for office; efforts are being made to avoid scandal, and a joint Committee of the two Houses has been appointed, which it may be hoped will hit on some satisfactory compromise.

The opening of the year found all parties in France preparing for the electoral struggle which was to decide whether the country, after all its supposed waverings, really wished for a Republic. M. Buffet was Minister, and he certainly wished for nothing of the sort. He issued a circular in which he intimated that he and the President were entirely with the Conservatives; the Assembly, in almost the last act of its existence, refused to abolish the state of siege which had prevailed in at least half of France; and when M. Léon Say associated in his candidatures friends eminently respectable but of decided Republican views, M. Buffet called on him to resign office; but as it was found that, if he went, M. Dufaure and M. Wallon would go too, the Ministry went on without change, but with opinions so divided that an electoral manifesto was issued. The election for the Senate was held at the beginning of February, and 110 Republicans were returned. But this was only a prelude to the great Republican triumph of February 20, when France pronounced with incontestable decisiveness for the Republicans and against M. Buffet, who suffered no less than three defeats in his own endeavour to get a seat. He resigned, and was succeeded by M. Dufaure and a moderate Republican Cabinet, including M. Waddington, who, as Minister of Public Instruction, at once brought in a Bill for restoring all the control of University degrees to the State. Large, however, as was the majority of the Republicans in the Chamber, parties were very evenly balanced in the Senate; and M. Waddington's Bill was afterwards rejected in the Senate by a majority of 5. The Chamber was principally occupied during the summer in examining and avoiding the elections of the adversaries of the Republic; but the state of siege was raised, public meetings were allowed, a promise was given by the President that there should be no further prosecutions against Communists, with the exception of persons who had been guilty of gross non-political crimes, some changes were made in the Administration, and, on the death of M. Ricard in May, M. Marcère, a very staunch Republican, was appointed Minister of the Interior. The Ministry, however, itself opposed the wishes of its supporters with regard to the Municipal Bill, and successfully insisted on retaining the nomination of mayors in all the large towns. When the Chamber reassembled in the autumn further differences arose between the Ministry and the majority in the Chamber, the extreme section of which had been reinforced by the aid of a veteran intriguer in Prince Napoleon. The Chamber would not vote an increase to the pay of the parish priests, struck out a vote for army chaplains, and was very sore at finding military honours denied to members of the Legion of Honour buried without religious rites. The Ministry was defeated in the Chamber, and at the same time found itself beaten in the Senate on the question of a measure further assuring the security of the Communists. As he did not possess the confidence of either House, M. Dufaure resigned; and, after much delay, M. Jules Simon succeeded him, the President yielding so far as to accept as his first Minister a member of the Government of September, but retaining General Berthaut, who had replaced General de Cissey in the Ministry of War, thus leaving open the point, on which the President strongly insisted, that the Ministers of War, Marine, and Foreign Affairs should be peculiarly his Ministers, and not liable to be removed when the rest of a Ministry was changed. M. Gambetta, who has steadily endeavoured to show himself as moderate as possible, did not hesitate, when speaking at Belleville itself, to call the Communist insurrection a great crime, and supported the Government in its assertion that it was necessary for France to maintain a Minister at the Vatican. He has recently devoted himself chiefly to finance, having been named President of the Finance Commission of the Chamber; and besides putting forward an elaborate financial scheme of his own, he has supported, criticized, and opposed M. Léon Say, the Minister of Finance, who sustained a defeat on the small question of the Salt-tax, but who has worked with great energy and prudence to maintain the national credit, and has secured a very respectable surplus for the current year, while he continually preaches the extreme of caution as to the future.

Little that calls for notice has happened in Germany, where that silence has long prevailed which makes itself felt when Prince Bismarck does not wish to speak. The Chancellor has, however, carried to the bitter end his quarrel with Count Arnim, who was finally condemned in his absence to the monstrous sentence of five years' imprisonment for writing a silly and indiscreet pamphlet which did not deserve to be noticed at all further than by exclusion from office, for which the writer showed himself totally unfit. In the last days of the year the Chancellor has also had a struggle with the German Parliament, and has forced it to accept the withdrawal of press offences from juries, in order that the laborious attempt to frame a new financial code might not have been made in vain. Austria has been engaged all the year in reconciling or moderating the conflicting pretensions of the Magyars and the Slaves; and unfortunately the

relations between Austria and Hungary have been strained by the claim of the Hungarians to have a State Bank of their own, with an issue of notes, which the Austrians reasonably think would imperil the credit of Austria itself. In Italy the Minghetti Ministry came to an untimely end through the offence which its Railway Bills had given to the Tuscan deputies. Signor Depretis, with a Ministry of the pure Left, succeeded to power, and, using his victory with extreme moderation, and in fact imitating his predecessors as closely as possible, gained the confidence of the country, and in the elections held towards the end of the year obtained a majority so large as to be almost embarrassing. Were it not that brigandage still makes Sicily one of the darkest spots in Europe, the affairs of Italy, which has at last arrived at the glory of a balanced budget, would seem very promising; although, as the great Mantegazza trial seemed to show, there are still influences at work, even in the highest circles, which recall the bad traditions of the past. Spain, too, has so far prospered that it has at last seen the end of the Carlist war. After the fall of Estella Don Carlos left the country and the reign of the young King fairly commenced. His reign appears to be a close copy of that of his mother, who has returned to Spain, to preside over and foster the imitation. Reaction is triumphant; Protestants are treated with the contumely due to heretics; and a plot has been invented or discovered affording a convenient pretext for keeping Zorrilla and other Liberal leaders in exile. At the same time, one more effort has been made to reconquer Cuba, and Martinez Campos, whose services in the Carlist campaign are supposed to have made him dangerous at home, has been sent to see whether he can succeed where so many have failed.

Trade has not been flourishing either in England or elsewhere. The default of Egypt has been added to that of Turkey and Peru, and the commerce of Buenos Ayres and its contingent States has been affected by a series of financial or political disasters. The world is still suffering from the American and French wars, and may earnestly pray not to have to suffer from another great European war in the East. In the social history of England the most remarkable event has been the Bravo case, which offered to the world the strange spectacle of the sins and sufferings of a private family being dragged to light day after day for the amusement of a prurient public under the authority of an impotent Court, fettered by no restraint and guarded by no rules. The crops of errors and frauds to which the creation of Limited Liability Companies gave rise has not perhaps been fully gathered in, but the swindle committed against the Stock Exchange by the offending promoters of the Eupion Company has at last met its reward, while the disclosures of the Lisbon Tramway case forced Lord Henry Lennox to retire with unblemished honour, but in proper expiation of a casual mistake, from a post he was occupying to the satisfaction of every one. Few years have been marked by a succession of such terrible calamities. The shocking accident at Abbot's Kipton in the beginning of the year has been paralleled by another on almost the same spot at the end of the year, and travellers may well be uneasy at two such disasters occurring on one of the best-managed of English lines. But these and similar calamities have been thrown into comparative shade by the catastrophe of the fire which consumed the Brooklyn Theatre, while this and all other horrors are indefinitely surpassed by the awful havoc made by the storm-wave in the delta of the Ganges, when nearly three hundred thousand persons are supposed to have perished in a single night. Nor has death been idle in the quieter work of everyday destruction. Many eminent names have passed away. Hungary has lost in Deák the most eminent, perhaps the only one really eminent, among her statesmen. The long career of Cardinal Antonelli has come to an end, and he will no longer weave ropes of sand to bind the Papacy to the Temporal Power. The still longer career of the Duke of Saldanha, who had seen, caused, and survived more revolutions than any other man in Europe, has also ended, and ended in peace. Lord Lyttelton has left a blank that cannot easily be filled up in many spheres of high and useful work, and Lord Sandhurst, Lady Augusta Stanley, Chief-Justice Whiteside, and Sir Thomas Henry in England, and the Duke of Galliera in Italy, have gone, leaving behind them many memories of military ability, charitable activity, judicial eminence, or extraordinary munificence. The list of the losses of literature is also unusually long, although, with the exception of that of George Sand, no name may belong to that of the first rank. But the names of Harriet Martineau, Mr. Forster, Colonel Chesney, Colonel Meadows Taylor, Mr. Henry Kingsley, Mr. Lane the Orientalist, and Mr. Russell, one of the most vigorous of the vigorous race of Scotch editors, are not to be easily forgotten or lightly mentioned by those who have for many years followed and delighted in the efforts of their fertile pens. In literature, as in all other departments of human life, very great eminence seems to become every day rarer; but the abundance and the excellence of merit of the second order which displays itself in every direction is the best proof of the width and strength of modern civilization, and is perhaps its most distinguishing and characteristic feature.

#### PRESENTS.

NOTHING perhaps seems at first sight of less importance than the custom of making presents to one's friends. But few people indulge in the practice to any great extent, and if the

majority of our readers were to sum up the amount of gratification which they think they derive from receiving presents, they would probably estimate it at a very low figure. Yet there seem to be some who erect this custom into a conspicuous element of social enjoyment. Just as a certain type of school-girl finds an ineffable delight in loading her special friends with costly offerings, so among adults one occasionally meets with a person who devotes a considerable amount of time and thought to this practice. It is probable too that, even in the case of those who only very moderately cultivate the habit, and who in their turn receive these friendly tokens but rarely, the pleasure realized is greater than a first view of the matter suggests. We could all live, no doubt, without giving and taking presents, yet social life would be robbed of something of its finer charm were the custom wholly abolished. And if presents are an institution which deserves to be preserved at all, it seems worth while to find out the best means of making it as productive of pleasure as possible. It must at once be obvious that making a present is a different thing from merely transferring so much pecuniary value to a person in order to relieve a supposed want. Present-making somehow differs from an act of charity. It is possible that there are a good many people habitually receiving presents who are accustomed to estimate them exclusively by a pecuniary standard. The greedy nephew who looks out for his annual hamper from his rich uncle is chiefly, if not solely, concerned with the weight of the game and the quantity and market value of the wine. But this is not, we suppose, the ideal of a present according to the judgment of a thoughtful person. Pecuniary value may no doubt enter as an ingredient into the total worth of a present, even in the eyes of the most refined person. Yet it hardly suffices of itself to make a present suitable and excellent.

The first reflection which naturally occurs to one in looking at the characteristic qualities of a present is that it is an action which professes to be a pleasurable one, not only to the recipient, but also to the giver himself. One imagines that the gifts of friendship should spring not from any interested aim or sense of obligation in the giver's mind, but from a sincere personal affection. A present may be said to fail in its function unless it gives rise to at least a moderate glow of delight in the mind of the giver. In fact, the natural origin of the system, to judge by the practice of very young people, who are often prodigal of their gifts, seems to be the impulse of a happy and abundant affection to utter itself in some tangible expression. Mr. Spencer speaks somewhere of the luxury of pity; yet it is probable that this perfectly spontaneous generosity brings a still deeper, as it certainly does bring a purer, delight. On the other hand, it is this fact of affection which gives, or should give, its prime value to a present in the eyes of the recipient himself. A welcome gift must be recognized as a voucher of personal regard, otherwise it sinks to the rank of a bare material acquisition. By keeping in mind this double side of the pleasure value of a present, one may easily determine one or two of the most prominent conditions of its success. In the first place, it is evident that a present should have the aspect of perfect spontaneity. A thing that is asked for, in however covert a manner, cannot yield a pure delight either to the giver or to the receiver. As we shall see presently, there are many presents which do, to some extent, wear the appearance of a fulfilment of claim, and for other reasons these may have a value of their own; yet, where there is any doubt about the spontaneity on the part of either person concerned, the action falls short of ideal excellence. It fails in this case to yield the highest quality of pleasure—namely, that which springs on one side from the indulgence of tender regard, and on the other side from an assurance of this regard in another's mind. A second point of excellence in a present relates to its form. Since a gift is before all other things an expression of a personal sentiment, the thing chosen to convey this feeling should have a certain dignity or charm of its own. The expression of all pleasurable emotions instinctively falls into a pleasing and graceful form, and the interchange of refined personal affection naturally adopts the medium of something graceful or beautiful. It is reasonable too that, when a person deliberately attempts to convey a sentiment of respect and attachment, he should seek to make the gift as worthy as possible in its external and aesthetic aspects. One main reason for making a present of considerable pecuniary value is that it is thus rendered worthy to be the expression of an admiring affection; and perhaps a certain appearance of beauty in a gift still better fits it for its purpose. Sober adults do not of course feel in the same way as enthusiastic lovers, and it would be foolish for a man, when selecting presents, to confine himself to pretty jewelry or other ornamental objects. Yet a touch of graceful sentiment in a present is essential, and where this exists it is pretty certain to suggest an externally worthy object. When, as often happens, other considerations lead one to select articles of utility, and even perishable commodities, it is still possible to add this aesthetic ingredient of value. A case of wine of singularly fine bouquet is felt alike by giver and receiver to have this quality of dignity; and the bare fact of exceptional rarity often suffices to raise an otherwise prosaic object to the required aesthetic level.

While any offering which springs from sincere affection, and possesses the dignity appropriate to such an impulse, must be recognized as conforming to the first essentials of a present, there are other qualities and circumstances which help to lend to such a tribute a special value. Let us first look on the pleasure to be realized by the receiver, since it is the anticipation of this which makes the chief ingredient in the enjoyment of the giver. A present comes, or should come, as something personal, breathing,



so to speak, of the characteristic qualities of the giver. The more vivid and the more numerous the associations between an object and the person who proffers it, the more acceptable will it be to an imaginative mind. A comparatively poor present may become interesting, and even wear a certain appearance of costliness, if it is highly characteristic of the giver's habits of thought or tastes. We learn to set a price even on the dry books we used when young to receive from aunt or grandmamma, when we begin to reflect on the close relation between the ideas of the book and the peculiarities of the giver's mind. This quality of presents obviously depends on the giver's perfect liberty of selection. Yet nobody is accustomed to make a present simply in order to air some peculiarity of taste. The affection which prompts the action will also suggest a certain fitness to the receiver's circumstances and wants. In this way the pleasure to the receiver will most easily be augmented, and this for a double reason. A present which exactly answers to some long-felt desire not only gains in immediate, but also in associated, value. That is to say, it comes as a proof of a thoughtful and painstaking affection. All of us perhaps have been happy enough to experience now and again the pleasure which flows from a gift when it thus speaks of previous kindly attention and wise forethought. Most people want, in a sense, things which they do not feel justified in purchasing for themselves, and nothing is more suitable for a present than a little luxury which the receiver would be exceedingly glad to possess, though he would probably think it extravagant to procure it for himself. If, too, the object selected answers to some distinctive taste of the receiver, it is all the more welcome as evincing a subtle appreciation as well as thoughtfulness on the part of the offerer. If we now turn to the giver of the present, we find that each of these qualities serves to enhance his pleasure as well. If the giver of a present has followed out his own special tastes in performing the action, he has manifestly realized the pleasure of unfettered choice as well as that of indulging a ruling liking. If, again, the gift is fitted to secure to the receiver a special pleasure by reason of its adaptation to his wishes and tastes, the anticipation of this result will increase the satisfaction of the giver as well. It appears from this that the best present is one which answers at once to the tastes of the giver and of the receiver, though it is evident that this ideal cannot be attained in all cases.

We have purposely reserved to the end one or two questions relating to the conditions of a successful present. It seems to follow from the considerations just enumerated that the freer the giver the more excellent is the gift likely to be; and this is true in the main. Yet it must not be forgotten that the act of giving yields to the giver a special pleasure when it is accompanied by an impulse of gratitude, and the question arises how far this reflection serves to limit the perfect freedom of the giver. Is there no such thing as reciprocity even in these lighter and more graceful services, and may not the total result of a present be increased when it is recognized as a response to a previous kindness on the other side? The first thing that occurs to one here is that, whether we wish it or not, we are all under numerous obligations to our friends; and the ideal of a perfectly free and unclaimed gift is, after all, something of a fictitious abstraction. Still it may be asked whether there is any place in the art of making presents for a definite consciousness of reciprocal kindness? To this it must be said that it is wholly a question of a balance of advantages. When a present bears no discoverable relation to any previous service on the other side, we are sure that it yields the giver the pure enjoyment of affection; while, for the same reason, it clearly grows in value to the receiver. On the other hand, the existence of such a relation may afford the giver the pleasure of gratitude. Also it may in certain cases ease the receiver's mind of a somewhat oppressive sense of indebtedness. Yet against these advantages has to be set the great disadvantage that in such a case the giver may be impelled, not by spontaneous gratitude, but by a sense of obligation, and that this possibility must materially lessen the delight with which the receiver accepts the gift. There seems, however, to be a way of combining to some extent the advantages of spontaneity and reciprocity. If the past service has not given rise to a definite claim, or even expectation, on the part of the recipient of the present, the giver may disguise the fact of reciprocity by offering something which bears no discoverable proportion in its value to the service. Among friends there are always a number of vague and unmeasured balances of indebtedness floating, so to speak, in the air. Not only so, but there are many little acts of kindness which are rendered without any after expectation of a return, and which we may be all the more glad to requite because we are not under any definite obligation to do so. In these cases a delicate and skillful hand can easily manage so to shape the gift which a graceful impulse has prompted as to give it an appearance of perfect spontaneity. On the other hand, a present which is obviously an equivalent for some past kindness is deprived of a good deal of the subtle charm of a free unsolicited favour. Of all forms of reciprocity, moreover, that of mutual present-giving is perhaps the most fatal to the charm of the thing. Nothing is more commonplace and dull in its suggestions than a present which seems to have been directly called forth by some previous gift from the other side. The pious practice common to certain young ladies of exchanging birthday books with Scripture texts represents perhaps the last stage of dullness in present-giving.

Next to the question of reciprocity in presents, that of periodicity seems to be one of the most interesting. The custom of giving annual presents on birthdays, at Christmas, and so on, has certain

obvious advantages. The receiver thus not only secures an aggregate of gifts, but in each single case he has the extra pleasure of anticipation. Again, he derives an added enjoyment from the knowledge of a constant and enduring affection. On the side of the giver, once more, there is a clear element of value in this practice. It is possible that love, like certain other emotions, is subject to a natural law of periodic development. In this case a regularly recurring opportunity of testifying one's regard has a natural justification. However this be, there are indisputable advantages in having a fixed date for remembering and expressing one's affection to one's friends. We are most of us so busy as to be apt to lose sight of absent friends, including those for whom we cherish a deep affection, and the gentle reminder of a recurring season is to a sincerely kind person highly acceptable. On the other side of the account, however, we must set the liability of all habitual actions to lose their freshness and charm. It is hardly possible for the habitual present-maker to feel on each new anniversary the glow of pleasure which the giver of an occasional present experiences. It is true, he may get more pleasure altogether, but in each single instance his delight is less. A far greater disadvantage in the case of these recurring presents springs from the fact that customary kindness is pretty sure to beget a sense of claim. This last ingredient clearly diminishes the pleasure to the receiver by reducing the gift to the rank of a right; we set little store by that to which we feel ourselves justly entitled. Not only so, but the fact that a customary present generates this sense of claim acts on the giver's mind, so that, when the worthy motive fails, he feels himself in a measure compelled to renew the gift. The fact of regular recurrence is thus apt to interfere with, or at least to obscure, the perfect spontaneity of a present, and the receiver of it is accordingly deprived of that certainty of affectionate interest which is of the very soul of an acceptable present. It would thus seem that, though the custom of renewing a present at definite periods of time is by no means to be undervalued, it is not favourable to the highest type of a present, which should be free from all ambiguity as to the exciting motive. It is a nice question whether relatives are fitted to be the best present-givers. Into this point, however, we have no space to enter. The reader will easily be able to judge of it by help of the suggestions already unfolded. We will only remark that we are by no means so Quixotic as to wish to interfere with a practice which is regarded by most young people as the principal function of aunts, uncles, and elderly relatives in general.

#### THE ORANGE-TREE.

THERE is a dullness of colouring in London which Londoners too easily excuse or forget. American cities in the same latitude have nothing of it. Anthracite coal or wood fires do not produce that universal blackness which pervades our air, water, mud, the fronts of our houses, and even their interiors. Bright colouring is impossible; for all colour, however bright, is soon changed into dun. Even the trees in the squares assume an invisible green; and only the diurnal watering-pipe keeps a little faded bloom upon the Park tulips. To eat, breathe, and see nothing except through a smoky medium cannot, we suppose, be very unwholesome, for London is a healthy city; but there are times when the most devoted cockney longs for the blue sea, the sunny sky, the glowing colours of a foreign land. In the height of summer a few orange-trees in tubs, mere shadows and ghosts of real orange-trees, appear in some of the London squares. They hibernate early, having produced no fruit, and are at best but melancholy apparitions. They are gone long before the November fog has come, before the pavement is greasy, the air thick, the mud deep, the wind heavy with moisture; and it is perhaps as well. The sight of their stunted growth, their rudimentary berries, might be too much for any one who knows what an orange-tree can be in November or December under more favourable conditions. Let such a one seize his hat and portmanteau and make a rush for Southampton. Let him get up in the grey dawn, and, while he drives to Waterloo, let him observe carefully the London sun as it goes through the process of rising—if that can be called rising which only consists in gradually making more visible the dirty dullness of closed shop-fronts and deserted streets, and in retiring at once before the midday darkness. Let him go on board and go to bed, and remain there for three days, unless indeed he likes better to survey with his outward eyes the cradle of the deep in which he is rocked. Then let him look up as he passes the hills of Cintra and the mouth of the Tagus; the ruddy Cape of St. Vincent, which looks as if its rocks were stained with the blood of British seamen; the blue cliffs of Trafalgar, the last land which Nelson saw; and the mysterious mountains of the Atlas, the rocky Abyla standing face to face with Calpe, the other and more famous Pillar. There let him land. He finds himself already in a different climate. English ways, not to say English customs and the English Custom House, are around him. The sky and the sea have a foreign look; but the streets, the shops, the soldiers, the placards, are English. He hardly realizes the fact that he has left England so many days' journey to the north, and that the promontory on which he stands forms one of the side posts of the gateway of the Mediterranean. An aloe or two, a row of prickly pears, a turbaned Turk, or a shovel-hatted priest, makes him think of the scenery of the Italian Opera; but they have assumed no look of reality as yet. Then, perhaps in some shady lane of the town, he glances through a dark archway into a garden, and there, growing, not in a tub, but in its native soil, not stunted, but twenty feet

high, with great green leaves and the golden fruit nestling among them, he sees his first genuine orange-tree.

It stands in a magnificent landscape. Towering up nearly perpendicular behind it are fourteen hundred feet of grey limestone, ragged and rough, but dazzling in the sunshine to Northern eyes. The sky-line is sharply defined by the white saw-teeth against the deep blue. Here and there a spot of dark green vegetation affords a scanty browsing place to half-a-dozen long-eared goats. Below the purple waves dance and sparkle, white-sailed feluccas cross the bay, and the brown hills beyond look down upon Algeciras—the Green Islands of the Moors. The waters of the bay have swallowed all but one, now no longer green, but white with fortifications and bristling with guns, a standing menace to the English fortress opposite. Some ninety years ago the anxious eyes of Elliot and his little army were turned on the Spanish preparations for the famous siege, and had to watch in silence while their fiery trial was prepared for them before their faces. Nearer we may recognize the New Mole, on which, under Rooke, the seamen of Hicks and Jumper landed in 1704; the Lines, which bore the attack of the Spanish fire-ships in 1780; the Old Mole, the Alameda, and all the little piers and landing places which together go to make up the port of Gibraltar. The red-tiled roofs, the white walls, the many-coloured shutters of the windows glow in the warm winter sunshine. High up on the steep side of the bare rock, at the angle which may be said to form the pass from the mainland to the town, stands the Moorish castle, one of the few fragments of antiquity which the place contains. Where everything is in working repair, fortifications and barracks, batteries and churches alike, the ancient walls, zigzagging down the hill from the tall square tower above to the old port below, look strange and out of place, the sole surviving witnesses besides the rock itself, of the days when Taric, the Persian freedman, led his Africans into Spain. Some part of the buildings may date from the time when the Moors colonized the barren slope, bringing with them, no doubt, the apes from Barbary and the orange-tree from the orchards of Andalusia. Their dominion lasted for seven centuries and a half where no Phœnician, Roman, or Goth had thought it worth while to build so much as a fort. It has been remarked that what one Roderick lost another regained. Roderick the Goth forfeited life and realm at the Guadalete in the eighth century, and Roderick of Arcos took Gibraltar in the fifteenth from Mohammed IX. But, though Gibraltar may, strictly speaking, be reckoned among the possessions of the last Gothic King, there is no evidence that it had ever been inhabited before the coming of Taric ibn Zeyad. The apes have dwindled to the little flock preserved, like pheasants in England, by the keepers of the signal-station. The castle, where it is not in ruin, has been worked into the modern fortifications. But the "tree is living yet," and flourishes in many a hanging garden of the little city, to Northern eyes, at least, among the most beautiful of its adornments. The simple harmony of natural colouring may be studied to advantage among its well-laden branches, for the leaf offers exactly the scientifically correct contrast to the fruit. The brilliant tint of the orange is best set off by the dark green of the foliage. It seems like destroying the balance of a finely painted picture to pluck a single orange. When the leaves were still young and pale the fragrant white blossoms appeared. Next, as the foliage assumed a deeper hue, the light green fruit became visible. Then, as the leaves darkened, as more and more of the blue of the sky was absorbed, the yellow tone was transferred, until at length the full glory of both leaves and fruit was attained, and the cold harmony of spring became the ripe contrast of autumn.

Though the orange-tree may be the most beautiful thing in Gibraltar, there is no want of beauty and interest in the scenery, circumscribed as it is, of the famous Rock. The English visitor expects to see a fortress. He finds a wild mountain, rich gardens, a busy city, a summer sea, cliffs which rival Shakspeare's, panoramas of folding hills, and a population formed of the most picturesque constituents the world affords. Dark-eyed Spanish ladies, with the graceful mantilla round their proud heads, contrast with the bustling English merchants' clerks. Soldiers in the scarlet uniform of England march briskly through the streets to the enlivening music of fife and drum. Here and there may be seen the white capote of the Arab lounging in a sunny corner, or the crimson burnouse, the turban, the yellow slippers of a people who, whatever they may have done in the eighth century, certainly never hurry themselves in the nineteenth. The seeker for antiquities may be disappointed. He will see the arms and badges of Charles V. over a gateway; may trace some ancient masonry in the old sea wall, now masked by a line of white limestone batteries; and may observe that the Old Church, hideously modern as it is, contains at one end some features of the Pointed style of the fifteenth century. The castle, indeed, is there, with its rough yellow keep, its pointed arches, and the walls, with their six towers, descending like steps, which once protected the port. But even here he can find few features of sufficient importance to be worth a nearer inspection. He is driven to pass it by, wondering how much of its remains date from the Moorish conquest and how much from the time of Abdul Mumen, who in 1160 fortified the town. Ascending the hill by roads cut in the rock, he goes past a guard-house and a magazine of undoubtedly modern construction; and, after walking a few yards, finds himself already high above the roofs and gardens. A short but steep ascent, which is best made early in the morning before the sun has crossed the sharp line of the summit, brings him to the signal-station on one of the highest points of the Rock. All along the path constant changes

of view are afforded. Looking back, the Castle forms a foreground to the distant mountain, the first on Spanish territory, and locally known as the Queen of Spain's Chair. Beyond it, a little to the left, gleaming white on a hill, is San Roque, whither the Spanish inhabitants of Gibraltar removed when Sir George Rooke took their town. Full in front is the Bay, rolling its blue waves up to the foot of the Rock. Beyond, on the western shore, is Algeciras, a more ancient town than Gibraltar; and not far from it, but invisible from the Rock, are the remains of a Roman station. The background is filled with mountains as far as the eye can see; those in front dotted with limestone in regular strata, those beyond marked here and there with a white village, here and there topped by a tower. As the signal-station is reached, a still finer view is obtained. Looking due south along the axis of the Rock, the height known as O'Hara's Folly, with its ruined tower standing on the sharp ridge of limestone, here bleached into marble whiteness, offers a strong contrast to the blue sea on either hand, the blue mountains across the Strait beyond, and the sky, bluer than all, above. The English traveller feels a thrill as he gazes into Africa, so to speak, over those mysterious mountains. They rise precipitously from the water, the highest being the ancient Abyla, the "Mountain of God" according to the Phœnicians. The Saracens called it after Musa, as they called Calpe after his lieutenant, Tarik; and the modern English soldier, outdoing even the Moor in his want of sentiment, has given it the familiar name of the Ape's Hill. Below, but hardly visible, is Ceuta, the Spanish convict settlement of which so shocking an account appeared recently in the English papers. The seven hills which gave it the ancient name Sebta, from which the modern Ceuta is corrupted, cannot be made out; but the traveller can hardly help contrasting the horrors which go on, so to speak, under his very eyes across the Strait, with the orderly, if stern, rule of the "state of siege" in Gibraltar. Turning to the eastward, he looks over a parapet fourteen hundred feet down into the Mediterranean. Steep as is the giddy height, it is still steeper a little further north, where a long sloping bank of loose sand extends almost from the very summit to the sea below, and cuts off the communication from north to south upon that side. The coast-line eastward curves gradually towards Malaga and the snowy Sierra, ranges of mountains appearing and disappearing in the blue distance as the sunlight comes and goes. Just below the signal-station may be seen, nestling at the foot of the cliff, the summer residence of the Governor, where last summer the children were startled from their games by the apparition of a dozen tailless "monkeys" which the dry weather had driven from their fastnesses in the rocks above. North of the slope of sand is Catalan Bay, a colony, it is said, of Genoese fishermen. They are cut off from all communication with the outer world, except by sea or when a dry season allows them to make a path along the shifting sands.

Bleak and rugged as is the view, the sunshine, the colouring, the glowing purple of sea and sky impart a beauty which enables the traveller to understand, perhaps for the first time, why people talk as they do of the Mediterranean and its supremacy among inland seas. He turns reluctantly as the signalmen announce the approach of an ironclad from the West, or run up the ball which tells of the coming of the mail from England. A distant bugle-call catches his ear, and he looks down to the parade-ground, a thousand feet below, where he sees the soldiers moving as on a chess-board, or watches the artillery practice from one of the forts at the water's edge. The ledge of earth on which the town stands is interrupted by the public gardens, which include the parade-ground; high above them, but far below the station, a few villas are perched among stone-pines and vine-clad terraces, wherever there is standing-room for a house. The cultivation of the Rock contrasts strongly with the desolate bareness of the Spanish coast across the Bay. The English energy which has held Gibraltar against such fearful odds has also made it into a garden. The roadway above the Alameda might have been transplanted bodily from Surrey, if it were not for the prickly pears and the aloes here and there. There are English yachts in the Bay; English steamers come and go; English carriages drive along the street as if it were Piccadilly. As the parade breaks up, the troops march to their barracks to the sound of "Obadiah" or "Tommy, make room." The exotics are dry and dusty, and do not obtrude their weird forms on the landscape, and it requires the full help of the frequent orange-trees to remind the visitor that he is not spending a summer in England, but a winter at Gibraltar.

#### WAS ST. PETER AT ROME?

THE question whether St. Peter was ever at Rome has been discussed for three centuries past with a persistence and acrimony which no merely historical inquiry, however interesting, ever evokes. And yet the theological significance which both Roman Catholic and Protestant controversialists have conspired to attach to it is really as little justified by the recognized principles of either of the rival parties as it is conducive to a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. The Scriptural and traditional arguments alleged for the primacy, or supremacy, or infallibility of St. Peter and his successors, whatever may be their weight, would be equally valid if the Apostle had never visited Rome. It would still be quite conceivable, and easily explicable from



the circumstances of the case, that he or his successors should have fixed on the capital of the Empire as the future seat of the primatial See of Christendom. And it is quite conceivable now, as Roman Catholic writers of eminence have not hesitated to argue and even to urge, that the modern holders of the office might see good reason for transferring their throne to some other locality—e.g. as Father Pagani suggested, to Jerusalem. The Pope was not considered any the less the heir of the chief Apostle during the seventy years' captivity of Avignon than before or since, and the difference between 70 years and 700 is one not of principle but of detail. On the other hand, the clearest demonstration that St. Peter exercised his functions at Rome, and was martyred there, can of itself no more prove his supreme prerogatives, of whatever kind, than the fact, which has never been disputed, of St. Paul's presence and martyrdom at Rome is supposed by any one to establish such a claim on his behalf. If this point had been kept steadily in view by Catholics and Protestants alike, much unprofitable hair-splitting on both sides might have been avoided, and all competent judges would probably long ago have come to a pretty general agreement as to the main features of the case. As it is, St. Peter's founding of the Roman Church has been virtually raised by zealous advocates to the dignity of a "dogmatic fact," while opponents who equalled their zeal and their indiscretion have made it a point of honour to deny the fact altogether. There are special reasons for protesting against such narrow perversity at this moment, because some recent discoveries of archaeologists at Rome, to which we shall revert presently, appear to have thrown a good deal of fresh light on the matter, and it is highly desirable that their investigations should be pursued and appreciated in a candid and critical spirit, apart from any theological prepossessions which may wrongly be imagined to be involved. It was observed, if we recollect rightly, by the learned Protestant Cave that it is not for the honour of Protestantism to seek to discredit conclusions resting on such strong historical testimony. Nor can there be any doubt that the presence and death of St. Peter at Rome, though hardly capable of demonstration, were attested by a chain of evidence which in any ordinary case, where no ulterior interests were thought to be at stake, would be accounted conclusive. Few writers have stated the argument more forcibly or impartially than Dr. Döllinger, who cannot be suspected of any undue partiality for the claims of the Roman See. Yet he considers "the fact that St. Peter worked in Rome so abundantly proved and so deeply imbedded in the earliest Christian history that whoever treats it as a legend ought in consistency to treat the whole of the earliest Church history as legendary." It may be worth while first to recall the salient points of the argument before turning to the new discoveries of the last few weeks which serve so materially to confirm it. And here we would again entreat our readers, of whatever theological school, to remember that they are concerned with an interesting point of ecclesiastical history, not with the merits of rival creeds.

The two questions which have been raised are whether St. Peter founded the Church of Rome, and whether he died there. On the first point it has been shown that St. Paul's language in several passages of his Epistles clearly implies that before his first visit to the metropolis of the ancient world a Church had already been founded there by an Apostle, and Peter is marked out by the universal tradition of all Christian, and the local tradition of the Roman Church, as that Apostle. Moreover, St. Peter's first Epistle is dated from "Babylon," which is the name given to Rome in the Apocalypse, and cannot well have any other meaning here. It cannot be understood of the Egyptian Babylon, the station of a Roman legion, nor yet of the ancient Babylon on the Euphrates, which there is no shadow of ground for supposing that St. Peter ever visited, and which is described by Pliny and Strabo as "a great desert," emptied of its inhabitants. The Babylonian Jews had long before removed to Seleucia, and when persecuted there fled to Nearda and Nisibis, as we learn from Josephus. And St. Paul's words make it clear (Col. iv. 10, Philem. 24) that Mark, who is spoken of by St. Peter as in Babylon with him, was actually in Rome at the time. If we pass from the Scriptural evidences, Dionysius of Corinth and Irenæus in the second century mention Peter as the founder of the Roman Church. Clement of Rome refers to his martyrdom there, and Ignatius, writing to the Romans, reminds them of the example of Peter and Paul as their joint founders and teachers. Origen dwells on the circumstances of his martyrdom, as did Tertullian earlier, and the Roman Caius, about 200 A.D., specified the precise locality. Then there is the testimony of Papias, cited by Eusebius, of Irenæus, and of the Ebionite *Preaching of Peter*, a document of the first century. And the time of the Apostle's first visit to Rome is approximately fixed by the statement of Suetonius, that the Jews were banished from Rome A.D. 49, on account of their raising disturbances "at the instigation of one Chrestus," which is probably an allusion to the first formation of a Christian community there. The exiles returned to Rome after the death of Claudius, and it was not till about 62 that St. Paul came there. To this concurrence of positive testimony must be added the negative proof of the entire absence of any adverse testimony or tradition. It is strange, to say the least, that the legend, if such it be, should have thus remained in undisturbed possession. And now it is time to notice the remarkable accession which has accrued to the evidence during the last few weeks.

The Roman catacombs connected with the Basilica of St. Agnes *extra muros* have long been considered the most ancient of all, and

have accordingly been subjected to curious investigations during the last three centuries, from the time of Father Bosio. In our own day the learned Jesuit antiquary, Father Marchi, who had made the Catacombs his speciality, achieved several interesting discoveries there; but the crowning triumph was reserved for the well-known Count Rossi, who had succeeded to his labours, if we may trust the very interesting report of the Roman Correspondent of the *Daily News*:—

In his *Roma Sotterranea*, and again in the *Bullettino di Cristiana Archeologia*, he was the first to show that the so-called catacombs of Saint Agnes really comprised two separate parts, one being the catacomb excavated in the field belonging to the family of the patrician Roman virgin and martyr, on which field now stands the Basilica consecrated to her; and the other being the catacomb commencing from the confines of the field afore-mentioned, and celebrated as that in which Saint Emerenziana, the foster-sister of Saint Agnes, herself too a martyr, was buried. This latter catacomb has been proved by Rossi to be none other than the true "Ostrian cemetery" where Peter baptised (*ubi Petrus baptizabat*), which was previously sought for by Christian archaeologists near the Via Salaria hard by, where the only ancient document which mentions it seemed to indicate its site. This Ostrian cemetery was a very ancient burial-ground of the early Christians; it was contemporaneous with the Apostolic origin of the Church; and the importance it derived from its antiquity was enhanced by the tradition that there Saint Peter was wont to baptise.

Nor is this all. Rossi further observes that the list of oil phials used for the lamps kept burning before the martyrs' tombs—a list drawn up for Queen Theodolind in the time of Gregory the Great—indicates a sanctuary between the *Via Nomentana* and the *Via Salaria Nuova*, where "the seat on which St. Peter first sat" was preserved. Now this exactly corresponds with the site of the Ostrian cemetery, and thus confirms the previous tradition as to the spot where St. Peter sat and baptised, variously designated the Ostrian cemetery and *cemeterium majus*, as being coeval with the foundation of the Roman Church. But the process of verification has been advanced a stage beyond this. Father Bosio had discovered in this Ostrian cemetery a vault and a spacious crypt with an apse ornamented with red letters, which were, however, too faded for him to decipher, in the midst of which he presumed that an altar had originally stood. Rossi, as long ago as 1867, had expressed a different opinion in his *Bullettino di Cristiana Archeologia*. He thought it most probable that the central space was occupied, not by an altar, but by "the chair wherein St. Peter first sat," which was seen by the emissary of Queen Theodolind, and that the red letter inscription commemorated this august memorial; and he longed for the day when the inscription might be successfully deciphered and interpreted. This wish appears at length to have been gratified, thanks to the exertions of a younger, but skilful and practised, labourer in the same field, Signor Mariano Armellini. The Commission of Sacred Archaeology has been busily engaged since 1873 in carrying on these investigations with the aid of Monsignor Crostarosa, owner of the ground under which the Ostrian cemetery is situated. The result was the discovery of a subterranean church, which is thus described:—

Reaching almost above the tribune a vaulted niche (*arcosolium*) rises from under the apse at the end of a crypt of considerable proportions, from whose lateral walls projects, on the right, a circular bracket cut out of the tufa, with a chair in front. Owing to the damp and dilapidation of the apse, however, and still more to the prolonged closure of the cemetery, which has withheld from archaeologists all access for about three centuries, the crypt has remained unexamined, and the place described by Bosio has been unrecognized. But now Armellini, thanks to the facilities afforded to the Commission, has employed unwonted patience, knowledge, and sagacity on the church and its tribune, and he has succeeded in distinguishing the very faint outlines of letters in red colour, and an inscription not sepulchral but historical. The name of Bosio is written at the top of the "arcosolium;" and there is no doubt that the crypt seen by the first discoverer of the Roman catacombs is that identical one which has been disinterred under the enlightened auspices of Monsignor Crostarosa, although the stucco-leaf ornamentation has been almost wholly obliterated. Here is part of the inscription:—" . . . Sancept . . . Cemerentiane . . . Anas." The name of Saint Emerenziana in the first line is legible enough, and so far confirms the truth of Rossi's opinion that the cemetery is the Ostrian one where Peter baptised, as that was the identical cemetery where the martyred Emerenziana was buried. The other letters of the first line are (in Armellini's view) scarcely less clear in their reference to Saint Peter, and also support the consistency of the argument which connects the Apostle with that famous and most ancient cemetery.

There is some difference of opinion as to whether the name of Pope Damasus can be detected in the second line, but the members of the Commission who have examined it, including Rossi himself, do not favour this view. That, however, is a matter of subordinate importance. What has certainly been discovered, if the report should turn out to be trustworthy, does remarkably corroborate the existing tradition as to St. Peter's presence and "*cathedra*" at Rome. And without admitting, for reasons already explained, the theological significance of the discovery, we may readily agree with the *Voce della Verità* as to its great interest for the study of Christian antiquities.

#### CHRISTMAS NONSENSE.

WHEN Balzac described the degradation of character in his successful journalist, Lucien de Rubempré, he naturally did not reckon, among other bad influences, the necessity of writing Christmas articles. French journalism has its own sins to answer for; but none of them involve so silly an imitation of sentiment and sense, such a wilful abandonment of natural and rational ways of thinking, as does the writing of a certain sort of British leading article on Christmas. It would be impossible for any one but an English-

man to make so poor a figure as the writer who is condemned to treat of Christmas. His task, to be sure, is one of great difficulty, for he cannot possibly say what he thinks—namely, that Christmas as a festival of the Church is a thing with which newspapers have nothing to do; and that, as a period of eating, drinking, and present-giving, it has been written about till it has become a hackneyed bore of which every intelligent person is tired. Grown-up people do not make a great fuss over their birthdays, nor rejoice exceedingly that they are one year older and weaker. In the same way they would like Christmas to be kept as quietly as possible, while the children have their share of games and good things. The *Times*, unluckily, will not let the world off so easily, and has distinguished itself by a column and a half of gush which has not even the excuse of seeming spontaneous.

It is not always easy to make out what the *Times* means in its Christmas article; not that the thought of the writer is deep, but that his language is obscure. There is a puzzle in the very opening. "The world," we are told, "sustaining the continuity of the New Year with the Old, has nevertheless fondly cherished the hope that the New Year may be some gain on all its buried predecessors." "Sustaining the continuity" of anything "with its buried predecessors" is a truly Christmas form of expression, which means, if meaning it has, that the public does not expect time to snap off short and begin again. Even amateur metaphysicians have never propounded a theory like that which this writer takes the trouble to assure us is not held by the world at large. But he leaves the world, and at once ceases to be reassuring. "Society makes a fresh start, as Nature itself does. The family, and even the wider circle, abandons itself for the time to a pleasant dream of primitive communism." We have no idea what "the wider circle" may be; but, if our contemporary is not talking absolute nonsense, the family and the wider circle are in a parlous state, and abandoned indeed. "Primitive communism," of course, is a condition which it is scarcely decent to describe, and which a second-rate German man of science has lately rebuked Sir John Lubbock for having ventured even to imagine. The writer thinks that the family and the wider circle pass their Christmas in gloating over the happy primitive thought of doing without marriage and property. Perhaps their pleasant dream takes the shape of Gonzalo's kingdom, rather than of the primitive communism as explained by modern science; but even on this hypothesis it is not clear why the family should not reserve the vision for the 1st of April.

Heaven is next mixed up with the family, nature, society, the world, and the wider circle. "Heaven is supposed to endow the earth afresh," though who supposes it the *Times* does not say. "Gifts descend from the skies, and are distributed by no human law; the dying year is bestowing its last blessings, and an infant year is at the door." The gifts which descend from heaven are possibly snow and sleet, for which the world, when thus "endowed afresh," seldom shows demonstrative gratitude. Or perhaps our contemporary has returned, in imagination, to the family, and is thinking of Santa Claus, who comes down the chimney with *bonbons* for good little boys and girls. Indeed a little later he shows a kind tenderness to Christmas fancies of this sort. He has discovered that the Church adapted an old festival—"Such was the order of the day from the earliest ages of Pagan self-abandonment to the latest years of mediæval superstitions." Thus it may be guessed that when the family "abandons itself to the pleasant dream of primitive communism," the mysterious practice is really a survival from "the earliest ages of Pagan self-abandonment," lingering into civilization. The Pagan reverted in thought to ages even more rude than his own age of self-abandonment, and the Christian does so still, in spite of the Puritanism of the Reformation. At the revival of learning, we are told, in this fresh little chapter in the history of culture, "great was the repentance and self-chastisement of many good people who found that they were only Pagans in disguise." We only happen to remember one instance of the truth of this discovery, and that occurs in an old book of Cameronian devotion, in which the author assures his readers that Yule was a feast in honour of Julius Cæsar, a bad man who died in what were vaguely called the dark ages. It followed of course that to keep Yule deserved self-chastisement, or, at least, repentance. After the revival of letters, then, "a tremendous effort was made to abolish Christmas, and so to remove and expiate the scandals which had gathered about it." But this was a futile effort. "Nature," says the preacher with enthusiasm, "has resumed its sway; for it is Nature that now adorns with evergreens our houses and our churches, and wishes us in every form the compliments of the season." This is a great and fresh discovery. We had always taken the view that young ladies and curates were responsible for decorating our houses and churches with holly and laurel, while "the compliments of the season" seemed to make part of the happy unconscious poetry of the tradesmen's Christmas bills. Surely since the self-abandoned Pagans lit the fires at Yule and addressed their hymns to the sun no poet has ever welcomed the winter solstice with such a dithyrambic mixture of notions in general as the once sober and sedate leading journal.

Leaving home, the writer casts "the red and raging eye of imagination," to quote the congenial Montgomery, over Europe and the universe. Just now the landscape, we are told, is black enough. "We have to hope against hope, and ask all the stars of Christmas to fight for us." Let fancy paint the statesman in Vienna or Berlin, as he reads how the *Times*, having abandoned the hope of setting things straight by means of the shield of

Agamemnon, is now asking the stars of Christmas to fight for England. It is just possible, or rather, on the evidence of a later stanza in this poem, it is almost probable, that the *Times* is thinking of a certain star well known in connexion with this season, and that it has mixed in a memory of the song of Deborah over Sisera. A random fancy may produce very queer effects by muddling up detached texts of Scripture, and the writer is just in the mood in which one quotation is as good as another. The stars of Christmas are appealed to because "the jealousies and divergencies of two continents, indeed of all the Old World—the accumulated difficulties of two thousand years, the respective claims of civilizations that have covered the earth, and of revelations that have broken it in pieces to unite them again, are all seen in such imminent collision as they never were seen before." The two continents referred to must be Europe and Asia, in the latter of which, by a poetical license, Turkey would seem to be situated; while Russia, we presume, is confined to Europe. The "divergencies of two continents," when "seen in imminent collision," must be a spectacle to startle the equanimity of all the stars of Christmas, especially as the revelations that have broken the earth in pieces, and afterwards, as it seems, picked up the bits, are seen in imminent collision also. "The very men of peace are men of blood to-day," the *Times* goes on, with much candour, and "when the lists are all ready for the note of challenge, it is idle to predict what depends on the cast of the die and the decrees of inscrutable wisdom and power." The writer appears to think that, when lists are ready for notes of challenge, that is the moment to cast dice. The sports of hazard and of tilting are more distinct than this language implies, even if it is desirable to mix up fate and foreknowledge in a fashion which treats the cast of the die and the decrees of inscrutable wisdom as if they were much the same thing. The whole sentence is like a sentence in a feverish dream, and yet our contemporary is still full of talking, and has not nearly worked itself out.

The *Daily Telegraph* used to have sacred names and sentimental allusions to the facts of Scriptural history all to itself. Its Good Friday articles were specialties which once defied competition, and at which other journals looked enviously or with a worldly grin. We could not have expected the *Times* to take up the fashion, and convert its columns into the tub of the itinerant gossamer. Angels' songs used not to be known there; but all that is changed; and the *Times* is chanting a hoarse carol, like an ancient and husky member of the fraternity of the waits. We must apologize for quoting the following impassioned stanzas. After the remarks about the lists, the dice, and the decrees of inscrutable wisdom, the writer, like the author of the Homeric hymns, is mindful of another song:—

Only there is this that will present itself to those who would be just and fear not. Once on a time, and that the first Christmas of all, as we reckon it, the whole world, long agitated by war, and, indeed, never quiet, was hushed for a time in universal peace that a cradle might be rocked, and a new birth proclaimed, and a tender infancy have fair play. As all the elements—even those that had raged for a thousand years—were hushed at the sound of the Angels' songs, it is still permitted to us to hope for peace when a work of peace has to be done.

The greater part of this *petit poëme en prose*—no English word is weak enough for it—is beyond all criticism. But it may be allowed to ask which of the elements had raged for exactly one thousand years, and which elements had not enjoyed so long an innings. On no scheme of chronology can we understand these remarkable elements, except perhaps on the theory, which we believe the *Times* to have repudiated, that it requires a conscious effort to "sustain the continuity" of new years and old years.

It would be hypocritical to pretend not to see any connexion between angels' songs and the elements which had raged a thousand years on one side, and the sermons of the *Times* and the Conference on the other. The leading article of the leading journal is the angels' song, and the views of Lord Salisbury, General Ignatieff, and the others are the raging elements, exasperated no doubt by men of peace who are men of blood. The *Times* finds it "no slight mitigation of our share in these world-wide difficulties that it is not aggravated by anything at home." Well, it is a comfort that our share is mitigated by not being aggravated. How a share can be either mitigated or aggravated, even in the vulgar sense of the word, does not now appear. But if anything could aggravate a share, it would be the palinode which the writer suddenly sings in the epode, so to speak, of his poem. "Every year repeats and intensifies a painful impression that sudden gushes and fitful manifestations of benevolence have but a limited power to cure the deeper ills of the social state." Probably no one ever thought that Christmas presents or Christmas doles did more than cause a passing pleasure to giver and taker, while perhaps they are mischievous if they lead any one to neglect the true relations of poverty and wealth. Not even the typical Scrooge hoped to heal the deeper social evils with turkey and sausages. But, if gifts of turkey and sausages are only a sort of sign of good-natured interest in poorer people, at least they do no harm. "Sudden gushes," on the other hand, sudden gushes of twaddle over grave, and even sacred, subjects are, as the *Times* says, very pernicious things. Who is to respect the judgment of a journal which talks about cradles, angels' songs, Christmas stars, and so on, in connexion with the most serious facts in recent history? How is a respectable standard of sense and reserve to be kept up in periodical writing if the leading journal is to set the example of going about with its scannel carols and Christmas divinations of the future? If the *Times* must gush, at least it might gush with better taste,



with a free and full volume of sonorous twaddle. There are plenty of masters in the art from whom it may take a lesson against next Christmas, when we shall humbly look forward to a great improvement in fluency. This year the *Times* has added a new horror to the conventional Christmas.

## INDEXES.

THERE are two things which are among the hardest of human undertakings, which everybody thinks he can do. One is to make a translation; the other is to make an index. Translations and indexes go along with county histories and several other things, which are seldom done well, because they are quite above the powers of those who commonly undertake them, while they are thought to be beneath the powers of the only people who can really do them. Most people seem to think that an index at least is a purely mechanical work, which any drudge may be safely set to do; and many people seem to think hardly higher of a translation. Yet properly to translate any work needs a knowledge of the subject only less than that of the original author; it does not perhaps need knowledge enough to have written the book, but it certainly needs knowledge enough to appreciate everything in the book when it is written. And it needs a comparative knowledge of two languages, a familiarity with the minutest turns and delicacies of expression in both, greater, we do not hesitate to say, than is needed for original composition in either. A man writes in English or in French; he puts his thoughts into those phrases which best express them in either language; he does not stop to think how they would be best expressed in the other language. The translator has the far harder duty of thinking how a given phrase in one tongue may be best represented in another. In making his choice, he needs the most refined tact, the most delicate feeling of the niceties of both tongues. Sometimes a strictly literal, sometimes a more idiomatic, rendering will best serve his purpose. Yet everybody who has the merest smattering of any tongue thinks he can translate out of that tongue into his own. There is indeed such a thing as failing in translation from knowing the foreign tongue too well; but that is an exceptional fault; it is not the one which commonly needs to be guarded against. In such a case the translator understands the author's meaning so thoroughly, so directly and immediately, that his very knowledge makes it hard for him to put it into any other shape. In the common ruck of translations, one may be thankful if the author's general meaning is preserved, if he is not made to say the exact opposite of what he meant. The smaller distinctions and shades of meaning are sure to be wiped out. And, if the author is scrupulous in his use of technical terms, the translator commonly rebukes his pedantry by translating them at random. It was no slight feat in this way to get rid of Herodotus's carefully drawn distinction between *βαρβαρὸς* and *ῥήγανος*; yet we all know that it has been done. But it is not of translations that we are specially speaking, but of indexes. Perhaps most people would allow that some degree of knowledge is needful in a translator; they would allow that no one could translate a Chinese treatise on metaphysics unless he knew something both of metaphysics and of the Chinese tongue. The mistake is as to the quantity; it needs a much greater knowledge of both than people commonly fancy; but it would not be denied that some knowledge is needful. But, with regard to an index, we have no doubt that to many makers of indexes it would seem a strange and a hard saying that they ought to have a very considerable knowledge of the subjects of the books for which they make the indexes. The thing seems purely mechanical, as purely mechanical as copying a manuscript. We might answer that copying a manuscript is after all not purely mechanical; it is almost impossible to copy a manuscript in a language which the scribe does not understand; it is hard for him to copy a manuscript on a subject of which he has no knowledge. But to make an index is really not a mechanical business at all. It calls for careful thought, for a considerable knowledge of the subject of the book indexed, for a kind of sympathy both with the author and with his readers. A perfect index can perhaps be made only by the author himself; even a tolerable one cannot be made except by one who has made himself thoroughly familiar with the author's matter and manner.

The object of an index is, one would have thought, plain enough. It has other objects, but the primary one is to enable any one to find something which he knows to be mentioned in a certain book without having to turn over page after page in search of it. If we use an index, it implies that we know that the thing is in the book, but that we do not know whereabouts it is in the book; at all events, that we shall find it quicker if some one will tell us the exact chapter and verse, book, section, or page, or whatever may be the way of referring to the particular volume. Now for what kind of things is it that the index is most likely to be needed? Clearly not for the great and prominent names of persons, places, events, which stand out as the main features of the book. We do not mean that the index is useless even for these. We could find them without the index, but we can find them more easily with it. There is indeed a certain satisfaction in being able to find what one wants in the book at once or with very little trouble. There is a feeling of shame in having to appeal to the index, a mere mechanical way of doing the work, from the

efforts of our own memory which we flatter ourselves have some claim to pass for exertions of intellect. Still, if the object be simply to save time and trouble, the thing to be found must be very obvious, and our knowledge of the book must be very intimate, if we do not find our labour lessened by using the index. But thus far the index, though useful, is not necessary; we could get on without it. But for another class of things the index is absolutely necessary; we cannot get on without it. We feel sure that there is in a certain book some mention of some small point of detail, some name, some title, some minute fact, some illustrative anecdote or quotation, which it is important to turn to for some reason or other, but of which all that we can say is that it is mentioned in the book, but that we cannot remember where. The mention may be so incidental that we do not know to what part of the book to turn. There may be nothing in the general line of argument or narrative to lead us to it. To help in such difficulties as these, indexes were first created, and now and then we do find indexes which discharge this first duty of their existence. But the rule is the other way. The common index-maker puts in the prominent things which we could find our way to without his help; he leaves out the small points, which are really those which we have made him our guide to lead us to. This comes of course from a purely mechanical way of doing the work, combined with that natural desire to save trouble which besets human nature at all times, and especially when the work in hand is purely mechanical. The index-maker argues, and argues rightly, that he ought to put in the great and prominent parts which he perhaps knew something about before, which, at all events, he could not help learning something about in the course of making his index. These things he does in some measure understand; at least he sees their importance, and so puts them in. But the small points of detail, the names, the titles, the incidental and illustrative references, he does not see the importance of, and so he leaves them out. They do not, he thinks, matter to the main story; so they need not be in the index. Now it is just because they do not matter to the main story that they ought to be put in the index. It is exactly for the kind of things which the index-maker leaves out that the index is really wanted. The things which he puts in we could find without his help. With the things for which we really need his help he refuses to help us.

Let us take a modern example. There is no writer fuller of all manner of small points, such as those that we speak of, names, anecdotes, incidental references, all for which an index is needful, than Lord Macaulay. This is true even of his consecutive History; it is still truer of his detached Essays. Now the History has a very good index, a general index to the whole work, a minute index to the whole volume. By the help of one or both of these we can commonly find what we want. The index is so good that it must have been made, perhaps not by Lord Macaulay himself, but certainly by some one whom he had taught what an index ought to have in it. The index to the Essays, on the other hand, is clearly the work of a mere mechanical drudge. It shows no understanding of anything; it is impossible to find anything by its help, because the whole class of things for which we turn to it are almost always sure to be left out.

The simple fact is that the mechanical index-maker does not see the importance of what he leaves out. He does not understand how much the narrative or argument itself may be illustrated by any of the small points which he passes carelessly by. Still less does he understand how often they may be needed to illustrate something else which some one lights on in the course of some quite different line of reading. Some index-makers put in nothing but proper names. The subjects in the discussion of which no prominent proper name stands out they pass by altogether. No doubt such subjects are the hardest of all things to index; there is no catchword; it needs some understanding of the matter in hand to know where to put them in the index. Commonly cross-references will be needed, as one reader may look for a thing under one leading word, and another under another. That is to say, the work of index-making is not purely mechanical; it calls for thought and understanding of the matter in hand. The mechanical index-maker again will not know how to put in his index even the things which he does pick out to put there. He will copy his text mechanically; he will transfer to his index phrases which are quite in their place in the text, but which in the index are ludicrous. A writer may be forgiven for saying in his text that "Antonius was bewitched by Cleopatra," but it seems odd to put in the index "Antonius, bewitched by Cleopatra," such a page.

An index should be something like a legal document, calm, passionless, of no party or persuasion, indulging in no strong expressions either of praise or blame. On the other hand, if the index-maker is a different person from the author, he is in no way responsible for the author's opinions or statements. He has simply to index them as he finds them, and the author must bear the blame, if any blame is deserved. The index must represent the mind of the author and not something else. Everybody knows the story of the law-book which recorded how Mr. Justice A. said "he had a great mind to commit somebody," and how it appeared in the index, some say as "Mr. Justice A., his great mind," others as an "Instance of greatness of mind." An index-maker who rolled "Lewis the Pious" and "St. Lewis" under one heading no doubt thought that he had achieved a very clever feat, and that he had taught the author to be more careful of his epithets. Emperors and Popes are great snares to the index-maker; so are Ferdinands, Fredericks, any royal name which is to be found in more than one country. But then every

one thinks he can index an historical book; perhaps he might doubt as to his capacity for indexing a book of chemistry or trigonometry.

One word more. Though the prominent names and subjects are really less needed than the small matters, they must not be left out. The index to a large book in many instances serves another purpose besides that simply of an index. The main articles, those, for instance, which describe the chief actors, are less useful strictly as indexes than as summaries. They should really be sketch biographies, and they are really very useful as such. The primary use of an index is to help one to find a fact which one has learned, but does not know where one learned it. But articles of this kind go further; they suggest a great deal which we have forgotten, or even which we never learned at all.

#### THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S MEMORANDUM.

IT is satisfactory to observe that the Lord Chamberlain's attention continues to be anxiously directed to the condition of the theatres as regards public safety; but there is apparently reason to fear that he is disposed to trust rather to words than actions, and to be content with allaying the alarm of the moment by casual and temporary measures of protection. In addition to the general circular which he last week addressed to the London managers, he has now issued a special Memorandum, in which he intimates that, "considering the crowded state of the theatres during the Christmas holidays, and more particularly the large numbers of women and children attending the performances of the pantomimes, the Lord Chamberlain requires that all doors not habitually used for exit, but available as additional means of escape in case of fire or alarm, be regularly opened on every occasion of a performance from Boxing Day until the 1st of February next." This is certainly a very reasonable and valuable precaution; but if it is necessary during the Christmas holidays, it is equally necessary at other times; and it is difficult to conceive why a special exception should be made in favour of pantomimes, while during the rest of the year audiences are to be exposed to the risk of being roasted alive. The theatres are always more or less crowded and liable to fire and panic, and the people who frequent them are clearly entitled to demand continuous protection against these dangers. The idea of limiting the enforcement of an indispensable security for public safety to a single month in the year would seem to indicate a curious incapacity on the Lord Chamberlain's part to understand the conditions of the very serious problem which he has to solve. After this feeble and irrational display of energy, the Lord Chamberlain, dropping the tone of authority which belongs to his position, sinks back into an apologetic and supplicating style of address. He "takes the opportunity of suggesting to managers the prudence of establishing among their staff of servants and attendants, before and behind the curtain, some sort of regular system, according to which each person so employed shall be told off to his appointed station in case of fire or alarm, so as to prevent hesitation or confusion on any such emergency, and to facilitate the safe and quiet departure of the audience from all parts of the house by all available means of exit." This is, no doubt, very good advice in its way, but it should have been expressed in the form, not of a hint or mild suggestion, but of a distinct and peremptory order, to be enforced, if necessary, by adequate penalties. Moreover, what the Lord Chamberlain thus suggests plainly falls far short of what is required. The Memorandum deals solely with the means of escape already available, and nothing whatever is said as to the numerous cases in which these means are absent or insufficient. In short, it would appear that ill-constructed and dangerous theatres are simply to be let alone. The "staff of servants and attendants before and behind the curtain" includes, we suppose, not only the carpenters, but the supernumeraries and all the miscellaneous ragtag and bobtail of the company, who have other work to attend to, and when called off for a novel service, at a moment of terror and confusion, would be only a rabble, and much more likely, by their ignorant and bewildered intervention, to intensify than to check a panic. What is notoriously wanted is that there should be a detachment of regular police in each theatre, and also a body of real firemen, trained and disciplined, and with specific functions, instead of a mere mob of actors playing the part as they would that of a king or robber.

Some of the managers are complaining that the exposure of the absence of essential safeguards and precautions in the theatres tends to frighten the public and to develop panics; but they have the remedy in their own hands. Nothing would do so much to dissipate alarm and give confidence, even in the presence of apparent danger, than the knowledge that the place was in charge of skilled firemen, acting under orders, and that there were ample means of egress easily accessible. If managers understood their own interests, they would spare no trouble or expense to put themselves right with the public on this subject, and no advertisement could be more attractive than an enumeration of the precautions which have been adopted for the safety of audiences. It does not follow, however, that, because managers will not do this for themselves, the public is tamely to suffer itself to be exposed to serious peril. In one way the public can to a certain extent take care of itself by avoiding theatres of evil reputation in this respect; but it has also a right to expect that the authority especially appointed for its

protection should use his power in a decided and effectual manner. Hitherto this has certainly not been done. When Mr. Donne was appointed Examiner of Plays in 1857, a new office was established—that of Inspector of Theatres—of which he had also to discharge the duties; but, as a rule, this service has been confined to a formal annual visit. As regards the censorship of plays, the department has done its work in a satisfactory manner, and with a discreet avoidance of unnecessary interference. But the arrangements for the order, comfort, and safety of theatrical audiences are a matter of a very different kind, capable of being regulated by fixed rules, as to the observance of which there ought to be, in some way or other, continuous and systematic supervision by competent experts, and which ought not to be permitted to remain a dead letter. This duty has never yet been adequately recognized or placed on a proper footing. The qualifications of an Examiner of Plays, who is required to decide questions of literary propriety, are quite different from those of an Inspector of Theatres, who has to judge of the construction and fittings of buildings; and what is wanted is that the whole system of the inspection of theatres should be seriously considered, with a view to make it practically efficient. The duty might perhaps be given over to some public body; but in any case it is evident that the present state of things fails to meet the urgent necessities of the case, and must be amended. The main thing wanted is a proper supply of professional men for the work.

There is, in fact, continual evidence of the existence of danger in theatres. On Wednesday a theatre at Doncaster took fire, but fortunately when empty. On the same night there was nearly a serious accident, or it might have been panic, at Astley's, in consequence of a dromedary taking fright at the lights and noise of the band, and kicking away the central limelight. Happily no great harm was done; but it is certainly alarming to think of a stage, lighted by a blaze of gas and limelight, and densely crowded with women and children in gauzy, inflammable clothing, intermixed with horses and other animals. We have, however, Mr. Sanger's assurance that the audience can escape in three minutes.

#### REVIEWS.

##### THE CHILDHOOD OF THE ENGLISH NATION.\*

THIS little book is a pleasing sign of the way in which the results of modern historical research are, slowly perhaps but steadily, making their way among those who have not time for the study of original authorities, or even of larger modern works. In this class we do not mean to reckon the author, but only those who are most likely to be her readers. Mrs. Armitage herself has clearly studied both classes of writers to her own no small profit, as it will be also to the no small profit of those of her readers who may follow her advice. She tells us in her preface that the object of her small book is mainly to send her readers to greater books; but it must not be thought that Mrs. Armitage is a mere compiler. Doubtless she could not have written her book as it now stands without the help of the greater works to which she wishes her own to serve as an introduction. But she is not a mere copyist; her book is not a mere *cento*. There are not a few compilers who simply copy down this scrap from one book of authority and that scrap from another book of authority, or perhaps not of authority, without taking any pains to make the scraps fit together, sometimes without taking any pains to see if one scrap may not in some point contradict another. Mrs. Armitage has not done her work in this way. She has not only read, which is an easy process, but she has marked, learned, and inwardly digested, which is quite another matter. What she has found in her books she has fairly made her own, and she has turned it to her own purposes without any servile following of anybody. She has not only read, but thought—thought for herself honestly and thoroughly. We have seen none among the endless small books, Manuals, Epochs, and the like, which occupies exactly the same ground as Mrs. Armitage; and she shows that she has a perfect right to choose her own ground, and perfect strength to deal with it. Her book stands quite by itself; it does not form part of any series. This has perhaps been an advantage. She has been able to choose her own limits, and to take her own line, without reference to any other companion volumes. She has chosen an independent position, and she is quite able to fill it. Looked at from another point of view, among the crowd of female writers who have undertaken to write small volumes of history she is one of the four or five who have shown real power.

We are not sure that the title which Mrs. Armitage has chosen is the best that she could have found to express the object of her book. It is hard to define a phrase so metaphorical as the childhood of the English nation; but we should hardly have thought that that childhood went on in any case to so mature a stage of our growth as the reign of Henry the Second. We should have thought that the childhood of the English nation did not last very long after our coming into this island; but we will not dispute about words. There is no doubt that the point where Mrs. Armitage leaves off does mark a natural stage in the growth of the nation; and, whatever we may think as to the time to which

\* *The Childhood of the English Nation; or, the Beginnings of English History.* By Ella S. Armitage. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.



she extends our childhood, she has at least the merit of beginning her record of it at the beginning, and tracing us up to our right parentage. The book is by no means a mere narrative; it is its special object to be otherwise. Mrs. Armitage gives throughout at least as much attention to constitutional and social points as to the narrative of events, and in so doing she does indeed trace everything up to its true origin. The sketches which she here gives us, both of the very earliest stage of English national life and of those later stages which come within her limits, make us feel, almost more than larger works do, what progress English history, Teutonic history, Aryan history, has made within the last generation. We might come nearer than that; we can hardly conceive such a book as this written even a dozen years back. A dozen years back a great deal that Mrs. Armitage writes would have been new even to scholars. It would have been as an unknown tongue to those for whom she now writes. But here we have the whole position of the English nation as a branch of the Teutonic race and of the general Aryan family set forth with perfect clearness, that clearness which is natural to one who has really mastered that scientific way of looking at things which is in truth the simplest way of looking at them. If anything is wanted, it is in the points of mythology and language. Mrs. Armitage's sketch of the history of the English language in relation to the French with which it had afterwards to struggle is excellently clear and accurate; but, while she has carefully traced up our earliest institutions to their common Aryan origin, she has hardly worked this point out with the same fulness with regard to language. Yet there is hardly any point on which it is more needful to insist than on the proper relation of English or any other language to the kindred tongues. And so with mythology; it is a great point to teach every one from the beginning that our heathen religion, like everything else about us, was part of the common Aryan heritage. It is no small piece of progress to be able to put the third day of the week in its right place in the world's history, and to know that Tiw and Zeus are the same. Mrs. Armitage's account of the old Teutonic religion is rather meagre, and what there is of it is too exclusively Scandinavian. She would certainly have done well to have worked out this part of the subject more clearly, and specially to have shown what large traces of the old religion may still be seen in our local nomenclature. It strikes us indeed that, though Mrs. Armitage has worked well and profitably at what we should have specially called the childhood of the English nation, though she has set forth many things with regard to it which only a few years back would have been impossible, still the times on which she dwells with most thorough life and affection are somewhat later. There is something really surprising in the vast range of subjects which she brings in in her later chapters, and the fulness and power with which she treats them. We do not in the least share the objection which Mrs. Armitage seems to think will be brought against her, of having given too much space to ecclesiastical matters. If they are treated as they should be, in a temper free alike from fanatical partisanship on the one side and from a snarling anti-ecclesiastical spirit on the other, it is hardly possible during several ages to give too great importance to ecclesiastical matters. With Mrs. Armitage ecclesiastical matters are clearly a favourite subject; she has really thought about them, and she gives us the result of her thoughts in many remarks which are very much to the purpose. Take, for instance, a passage in which she describes the general effects of Christianity. We do not say that all the ideas are original; every one of them may most likely be traced up to reading in some quarter or other. But Mrs. Armitage has thoroughly made them her own, and has learned to deal with them as with something that is her own:—

We are too much accustomed to look upon the introduction of Christianity as a mere change of opinions about God and the next life, instead of what it really was, a moral and social revolution of incalculable effect.

Christianity contained in its essential principles a most powerful solvent of clanhood and of the whole social system of our forefathers. To a people who recognised no tie between man and man except that of kindred, or that between the chieftain and the follower, it proclaimed the universal brotherhood of mankind. To people who looked upon noble birth as something divine, who bought their wives like slaves, and held other men in slavery, it proclaimed the equality of all human souls in the sight of God, without distinction of male or female, bond or free. To a people who exposed their children, and lived by war, it proclaimed the sacredness of human life. To a people who regarded all the members of a family as involved in the crime of one, it proclaimed individual responsibility. To a people who looked upon work as the portion of women and slaves, it proclaimed the dignity of free labour and initiated co-operation.

One might wish a few words changed here; one gets a little puzzled about "solvent" and "initiated co-operation"; but the general idea is well grasped and powerfully brought out. The real historic work of Christianity lies in the points which are here sketched out, far more than in theological dogmas; and in all these ways it has from the very beginning, from Julian's pagan reform onwards, deeply influenced many who have cared little for its dogmas or who have wholly cast them aside. One or two of the points here suggested might well be carried out further. In that mixture of elective and hereditary right which formed the essence of the old Teutonic kingship, there can be little doubt that the introduction of Christianity worked powerfully to strengthen the elective side of it. Both in the heathen and in the Christian system, the King had a certain divinity to hedge him in; but it was of different kinds in the two systems. The heathen King was sacred because he belonged to a sacred kin sprung of the blood of the gods. Here is the hereditary side of the theory—if hereditary is the right word where there is no strict law of succession, and where one

member of a kingly house is as kingly as another. This notion of the sacredness of a particular kin was certainly weakened by Christianity, the tendency of which is to give the King another kind of sacredness by investing him with the kingly office with ecclesiastical rites. This was to assimilate the kingly office to an ecclesiastical office, bestowed, in theory at least, not by virtue of birth or kindred, but by election grounded on fitness. As the doctrine of primogeniture grew up—a doctrine most inconsistent with the original doctrine of the nobility of the whole kin—it was in the end joined in strange partnership with the ecclesiastical theory, and produced the Stuart conception of the Lord's Anointed reigning by the divine right of strict hereditary succession—two theories inconsistent with one another and unlike any notions of early times, Christian or heathen.

Mrs. Armitage will pardon us if one clause in her summary has led into rather a long train of thought. In dealing with the ecclesiastical controversies of the twelfth century, they may be looked on from so many sides that perhaps no two people will speak of them in the same way. But we could have wished that Mrs. Armitage had brought out a little more clearly one side of those ecclesiastical pretensions which, in different ways and in a widely different spirit in the different men, were withstood alike by both Williams and by both Henries. The ecclesiastical pretensions had doubtless a good side. They were the natural, perhaps the inevitable, growth of ideas which were generally afloat in the world at the time; but they were innovations on the ancient laws of England, and in withstanding them the Norman Kings did but step into the place of their English predecessors. In the view of universal history this may seem a narrow insular way of looking at things; but all English history and all English feeling is insular and in a certain sense narrow. We cannot get out of our geographical condition. We live in a world of our own, that *alter orbis* which would always have its own Caesar, and sometimes tried to have its own Pope. Mrs. Armitage aims, and aims rightly, at a wide and general view of things, but the peculiar insular position of our nation is a great fact which influences all our history. Mrs. Armitage well brings out the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Conqueror, and the way in which that ecclesiastical supremacy became a thing of evil when it passed from the first William to the second. But when it comes to Henry the Second, an eloquent picture, and to a great extent not less true than eloquent, of the general influence of the Church rather blinds Mrs. Armitage to the position of Henry as the defender of the ancient customs of his kingdom against modern encroachments.

There is much that is excellent in every way, much that is well brought together and well put together, in the general chapters at the end of Mrs. Armitage's little book; but certainly, when we get to Peter Abelard and to Nominalists and Realists, we seem to have got a long way off from the childhood of the English nation. Let us end with a good hearty extract from the part which deals with English literature, an extract which quite gets rid of any little grievance which we may have felt on the score of "solvents" and "initiated co-operation":—

For at least a century and a half after the Norman Conquest, the English language had an independent life of its own, almost unaffected by French influence. The old national legends were still sung in the streets and at the alehouses; and there were men who collected and wrote them down. The monks of Peterborough steadily carried on their chronicle in English up to the accession of Henry II. Priests went on preaching their sermons in English, and making English versions of the Gospels and English lives of the saints, that unlearned men might understand them. And about the end of the twelfth century, the English priest of Arley-on-Severn, Layamon, chaplain to the good knight of that place, must needs translate into English the fashionable poem of the day, the already twice-cooked romance in which the Norman poet Wace, translating from the Welshman Geoffrey of Monmouth, had rived a cock-and-bull history of Britain, in which Layamon's own ancestors were made to cut but a sorry figure, and to be always running away from the victorious Britons. But this book was in fashion, and even Arley-on-Severn must follow the fashion.

#### PALMER'S PERSIAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.\*

THE learned compiler of this little work had, he tells us, two objects in view. He wished to be of service to travellers in Persia, and to facilitate the labours of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. Johnson's or Meninski's works are far too bulky and too expensive for ordinary students, and though no one who aspires to become a fluent or accomplished scholar can afford to neglect the former, yet this volume will be found far more portable and convenient, and will probably supply both the traveller and the student with a vocabulary tolerably sufficient for practical purposes. When a language, copious in itself, is reinforced by an unlimited power of drawing on another language more refined and even more copious, there is no limit to variety in the choice of phrases. But it may be roundly stated that an Englishman who had four or five thousand Persian words thoroughly under command would have no difficulty in getting on with merchants in bazaars and with whole classes of officials, and we think that he might even exchange courtly phrases with the Sadri-i-Azim or the Mir Bakshi.

In making some criticisms as to the manner in which Professor Palmer has discharged his self-imposed task, we do not forget that to criticize a dictionary is, in one sense, one of the easiest things

\* *A Concise Dictionary of the Persian Language.* By E. H. Palmer, M.A., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law, Lord Almoner's Reader and Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

in the world. It costs little research or trouble, for instance, to say that out of half a dozen meanings of certain words, the most familiar has not been given; to show that, now and then, a positive error has crept in, or that a beginner has no clue to tell him how to select, from a diversity of terms for the same object, the one idiomatic word which will assist the ear and come home to the understanding of a native of average intelligence. But, while not insensible to the value of this book as fulfilling most of the ends for which all dictionaries are compiled, we should not discharge our duty were we not to point out some deficiencies and positive mistakes. A critic in a contemporary has shown that the work fails to give some colloquial words of which the traveller will feel the want the moment he lands at Bushire or enters Persia from the Caucasus.

In the first place, we cannot say much for the type. Possibly the compiler had no choice, but the characters are mean and puny. Some of the vowel points, though not absolutely incorrect, are so huddled together as to perplex and discourage beginners. Those who remember the lucidity and elegance of the type adopted in such works as Johnson's Dictionary, the grammar of the late Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim, the Gulistan, Stewart's Selections, and other publications, will look with some irritation on the insignificant scratches which can have no other effect than to exhaust patience and to put an additional stumbling-block in the path of the unlearned. The neglect to distinguish between the letters *kaf* and *gaf*, or, as we should say, between *k* and *g*, is unpardonable. In most works the upper part of the latter has a double stroke, and the former a single. Here, on the contrary, the word *kar*, "deaf," and *gar*, "if," are printed in exactly the same type. To tell a young fellow of nineteen, who is hammering away at the Secunder-Namah, that he is to guess from the context the letter under which he is to search for a word is to double his worry and work. But there are some men who cannot bear to close up any source of irritation, and who would be much grieved if a new manuscript of unimpeachable authenticity were to put to rights a hopeless chorus in the *Supplices*, or settle for ever a tangle in one of the speeches of Thucydides of which neither Grote nor Dr. Arnold could make head or tail.

Another thing which strikes us is the introduction of common phrases freely translated, but not literally or critically explained. Possibly the author may have wished to impose on those who consult him the wholesome discipline of working out by grammar and dictionary the precise and literal meaning of a few terms of authority, greeting, or imprecation. The following instances will explain our meaning and enable readers to decide whether they could ever have guessed, without picking the whole sentence to pieces, how Persian, like that wonderful Turkish language invented by Molière, said so much in a few words, or employed a long sentence to tell us so little. *Ab-o-dana* and *Ab-o-hawa* are correctly given as "livelihood" and "climate." The former is literally "water and grain," the latter "water and air," impurity in these two elements making all the difference, in the eyes of natives, between sickness and health. For "How are you?" it may be very good Persian to say "*Aheal-i-shuma cheh taur ast?*" but it would save trouble to be told that the latter is strictly "Of what kind is your state or condition?" *Aftan-o-khizan* is "limping," but this meaning is attained by the union of two words which signify "falling and rising." *Adamkhur*, a "cannibal," would be better rendered a "man-eater," the latter part of the phrase coming from *khurdan*, to "eat." *Az ru*, one of the commonest of phrases, may be very well rendered by "on the ground or score of," but *ru* is "face" and not "ground" or "score." *Khatt-i-itidal allail wa ahahar* is the equivalent for "Equator." But we get to this by dissecting the phrase, and showing that the words imply "a line of moderation and division between night and day"; and *lail* and "*nahar*," by the way, are pure Arabic, and are not used in colloquial Persian to designate the divisions of the twenty-four hours. In the same way it might have been explained that *Pul-i-Chakmah-o-Shahcar* is used for "board-wages," or the "travelling expenses" of servants, because the words are equivalent to "small coins for boots and trousers." For "Thank you!" at Teheran or Shiraz one may use the phrase *Luft-i-shuma-ziyad*; but this is because in so speaking we really say "May your kindness increase!" Another way of varying the phrase is "May your kindness never be less!" (*Kam nashavad*). "How do you do?" a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, some years ago, ingeniously selected as the very core of a treatise on national character. An Englishman must perforce be always *doing* something; a German must be *going* ahead with some ultimate design; a polite Frenchman *carries* himself; and an Italian is supposed to be always *standing* listlessly and idly in the warmth of his Southern sun. Let the reader turn our common English greeting into the three latter languages, and he will apprehend our meaning. In Persian we politely ask "How is your exalted temperament?" though Mr. Palmer does not tell us so expressly. There is a less ceremonious inquiry to the same effect, "Is your brain healthy or active?" (*Dinagh-i-to chak ast?*) For the same reason we should have been glad if it had been shown that a man is *bar-bad*, or ruined, because he is thrown to the winds, and *pamal*, or *paimal*, because he is "trodden under foot"; that Jerusalem, in the eyes of Moslems, is *Bait-al-mukaddas*, or "the house of sanctity"; that the electric telegraph is *tar-i-barki*, or the "lightning wire," equivalent to *bajli Dak*, or the "lightning-post" of India; that *chahar chasm* means an interview, because "four eyes" then come together; and that the words which are properly but loosely given as "Talk less and listen more" are

strictly "Present two ears and only one tongue." Our criticisms receive confirmation from Professor Palmer's exceptional treatment when we find that the well-known phrase for "a tramp" is given as "one who has his house on his shoulders," or, quite correctly, "on his back." Why could not a similar slight amplification of the text have been given in the useful phrases cited above? We are glad, however, to see that other words which the ubiquity of Special Correspondents in the East has brought into notice are properly spelt. *Top-Khanah* is usually a magazine or arsenal, and sometimes a park of artillery. It is the same word as *Top-hane*, which we see in letters from Constantinople indited by the same pens which write about a strange functionary termed the *Caimakan*. This Dictionary gives the latter word as it ought to be given—namely, "*Kaim-makan*," or "firm in situation"—a satire on the official whom it designates, and who is a Lieutenant-Governor, or local representative of the executive power, the very last person in the world whose tenure of office can, in an Oriental State, be associated with stability.

In some cases the compiler has thought it expedient to supplement the original meaning which a word bears in Persia by its extended or secondary use in India. And in several instances the provincial or foreign application has been well hit off. Indian servants in Bengal have long been used to call breakfast *haziri* (literally, the attendance or presence), instead of *nushta*, though this latter is employed in the Western Presidency of Bombay, as occasionally in Persia, for the above meal. *Khafagi*, suffocation, in India signifies anger. But let no candidate for the Indian Civil Service imagine that when he becomes "a police magistrate" at some place ending in *gunge* or *pore*, he will ever be addressed as the *Faujdar* of his city or district. It is perfectly true that all over India, in legal parlance, the criminal department of justice is known as the *Faujdar*, while civil business is *dewani*; but this will not make the sitting magistrate of Adalnuggur a *Faujdar*. The truth is that *faujdar* may exist in some native States, but is an extinct term in our Presidencies. Some ninety years ago there was a class of men on whom the appellation was bestowed, but they were natives, and their epoch was prior to the administration of Lord Cornwallis. It may interest discontented civilians of the present day, groaning over curtailed allowances and loss by exchange, to know that before 1793 the *Faujdar* of Hooghly, for instance, was a native gentleman who got 10,000*l.* a year for looking after the peace and well-being of his district, and that Dacoities or gang robberies with violence took place weekly, in broad daylight, almost within sight of Calcutta, and under this worthy's eyes. By way of retribution, Lord Cornwallis reconstituted the whole service, appointed civilians to all the departments of executive government, fixed their salaries on a very liberal scale, and left no native in the enjoyment of more than 10*l.* a month. Some other terms are explained by English equivalents which might occasionally mislead, though we do not mean to say that *per se* they are wrong. *Ijarah-dar* is no doubt "a farmer," but it designates a tenant-farmer, or one who has a lease of lands for a term of years. *Ghazi* is a warrior, but it is usually applied to those warriors who slay infidels or disbelievers in Islam, in battle. Compounds abound both in Persian and Arabic, and the term *dar* in the latter language—not to be confounded with the Persian termination spelt and pronounced in the same manner—is joined to other words to express, for instance, the capital of the country, a hospital, this world, and the world to come. The first is the abode of empire; the second, the abode of recovery; the third, the abode of transience; and the fourth, the last abode. All these are neatly and accurately given in due sequence. But some little further explanation is desirable for *dar-ul-harb* and *dar-us-salam*. The former, says this Dictionary, is an enemy's country, and the latter is Bagdad or the Mansion of Peace. It would be more correct to say that *dar-ul-harb* is a country where Mahomedanism does not exist, or cannot be professed in safety, or where it ought to be propagated by main force. *Dar-us-salam*, on the contrary, is a kingdom where orthodox Mahomedans may hold the doctrines of their lawgiver unmolested and may make proselytes. A few years ago a very interesting discussion arose amongst educated Mahomedans in India as to whether, with reference to Wahabi intrigues, British territory ought properly to be termed "an enemy's country." After some controversy it was ruled by Mullahs and Moulavies that, as complete toleration prevailed under the equitable and strong Viceroy of India, and as every one could hold what faith and worship in what fashion he pleased, our British dominion in the East was practically quite as good as Bagdad itself, and that there was no necessity to proclaim a *Jihad* or religious war. Other compound expressions are given with much perspicuity, as examples of which we should be inclined to refer to *Jahan*, the world, and its "compounds" *Jahan-panah*, "asylum of the world," "*Jahan-didah*," one who has "seen the world" and is experienced; to the compounds of *chashm*, the eye, and to *Khud*, self, and its combinations; *Khud parast*, a worshipper of self, a conceited man; *Khud Khwah*, selfish; and *Khud-ro*, what grows spontaneously. The utility of these phrases in Persian will strike the learner quite as much as their ease and flexibility. The same may be said of *Khush*, pleasant, and its compounds; but we are not sure whether the translation of *Khush-daman*, though grammatically accurate, will ensure universal assent. Literally it means a "pleasant skirt," metaphorically it is "a mother-in-law." To the word *zin* are appended two meanings, "a saddle," and "from this." It seems to us more correct to say that *zin*, "from this," is really a contraction for "*az in*." *Takavi* is a word



which every Indian official who has ever made a settlement of the land revenue or taken his share in famine relief must have used a hundred times. Popularly it is spelt "tuccavi" in elaborate reports. This Dictionary says it means "advancing money to a tenant to purchase seed"; and so it does; but it is also applicable to money advanced to cultivators to enable them to sink a well. *Sahib-i-nazar* is truly rendered by "clear-sighted," but this is because a Sahib is one who possesses or is master of any one thing or quality. The use of Sahib to express the dominant Anglo-Saxon in the East is, of course, notorious. Professor Palmer is careful to give the original languages from which several terms current in Persia have been derived. Besides the great admixture of Arabic words, in which the change of a single letter works the most perplexing differences of meaning, though these are easily explicable by reference to the root, we have words borrowed from the Turkish, the Russian, and the Greek languages. A similar plan might have been pursued with words which either come from, or have a very close affinity with, the cognate Aryan language of Sanskrit. *Susmar*, a porpoise, is the Sanskrit *Sisumara*, and the Hindi *Simar* of the present day. We could have wished for an explanation of the term "*madakkhil*," Coming from *dakkhal*, entrance, it means "income and receipts." But in modern Persian we rather think it goes further, and includes illicit sources of gain.

Whether the study of Persian for its own sake can ever become fashionable in England may be doubted. The worth and merits of its literature are not inconsiderable. But this is a case where the language, as a vehicle of thought, probably far surpasses the uses to which it has been put even by those who could speak and write it best. The Shah-namah is a fine poem. Hafiz and Sadi abound in elegant passages or pointed proverbs and sayings; and, not to mention a whole tribe of erotic poets beginning with Jalal-ud-din-Rumi and Jami, very tolerable histories have been turned out by a succession of annalists. Any one who attempts to write a history of Mahomedan invasion and conquests all over the East should be able to consult in the original such books as the works of Abul Fazl, the History of Timur, and the Jehangir-namah. The chief merit of the Persian language is that it is specially adapted to the closet and the Council Board, to the poet and the orator, to the astute diplomatist and the sober historian. It maintained its hold on India as the language of the Judicial and Revenue Courts for more than half a century after the downfall of the Mahomedan dynasties, to which its introduction was due. Several of the most eminent administrators of the East India Company during the first half of this century were accomplished Persian scholars, and we are glad to find that the importance of not allowing the study to drop has lately induced the Government to offer to civilians greater rewards for proficiency in this language; while missions to Kashgar and Teheran have had, on military men, an equally stimulating effect. Professor Palmer has, with Mr. Cowell, done much already for Oriental studies at Cambridge, and we would suggest to him the compilation of a counterpart dictionary from English into Persian which would be equally welcomed as a guide to inquirers in the bazaars of Tabriz or Teheran, or as a help to candidates for the Indian Civil Service who may aspire to convey the friendly sentiments of the Viceroy, in very choice Persian, to such potentates as the ruler of Yarkand or the Amir of Cabul.

#### MACKAY'S RECOLLECTIONS.\*

DR. CHARLES MACKAY, who is perhaps best known as a writer of ballads, has been an active man in other ways; and has in the course of his career had an opportunity of studying the world in a variety of aspects, and laying up a stock of interesting reminiscences of men and events. These he has now published in a couple of volumes entitled *Forty Years' Recollections*. It can hardly be said that during this period the author has himself made any great figure in the world. The literary performances with which he is chiefly associated, though not without a kind of workmanlike merit, are not of a very high kind; and it appears to have been his fate, on the whole, to have passed most of his time rather in the background, and as an assistant to others. He seems, however, to have always been engaged in one kind of employment or another which placed him in contact with people of more consequence than himself, and took him behind the scenes in public affairs, and thus he had often a share in important work. He describes himself, being then in his eighteenth year, as arriving in London from Brussels in the early summer of 1832, with "high hopes, great ambition, vigorous health, and immense inexperience," and only a very scanty supply of money. He had been studying hard for four years, and had thought of almost every profession in turn, but always found difficulties in the way. He was a scion of the great clan Mackay, and his father and ancestors, as far as he could trace them back, had all been soldiers; but he saw no chance of a commission. He was at this time, however, hopeful of getting a cadetship in the Indian service, through his uncle, who was a major-general in it; but somehow this, too, fell through. He had therefore to look elsewhere. The publication of a small volume of poems procured him in 1835 an introduction to Mr. Black, then the working editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, who gave him five guineas for a translation of one of Béranger's poems, saying that that was the amount of Milton's first pay-

ment for *Paradise Lost*, and more than Béranger received for the original; and was intended, "not so much as a payment, but as a retainer." He thus began a connexion with journalism which practically became the occupation with which his life has been identified. Dr. Mackay gives a graphic sketch of this able editor, who was, in his way, both a genius and a character. Black was a thorough journalist, putting his soul into his work, and not only a keen politician, but an acute critic and accomplished linguist, especially in Greek, with a wide range of knowledge in literature and other things. He had worked his way up to the position which he occupied by sheer energy and ability, having walked up from Scotland to London with a few pence in his pocket, living on the hospitality of farmers' wives, who gave him a slice of bread, a bowl of milk, and a night's lodging. He had homely manners, speaking a broad Berwickshire burr, and a fund of rough, and often coarse, humour. He had, however, been overburdened with work, and his style had become somewhat loose and rambling from having to fill up a certain space every night either with his own pen or with paste and scissors eked out by a running commentary. He lived with his wife in the upper floors of the newspaper office, and had besides a little cottage on the skirts of Blackheath, which served as a sort of safety-valve for his laborious existence, and to which, no matter what the weather, he walked every Saturday, starting from the Strand at two or three in the morning, when he had done with the proofs of the paper. He spent the rest of the Saturday and the greater part of Sunday in rural idleness till the evening, when he again trudged to town to resume his duties.

At this time (1835), the *Chronicle*, which had very much declined in circulation, passed into the hands of Mr., afterwards Sir John, Easthope, a stockbroker, who had been in Parliament, and aspired to return there; Mr. Simon MacGillivray, a warm-hearted and impetuous Highlander, who had been prosperous in China, and a leading spirit in the Canada and Hudson Bay Companies; and Mr. James Dawson, a publisher in the Row, who had made his fortune by the publication of the most accurate text of a book he could not read a word of, the Old Testament in Hebrew. The object of these gentlemen was to restore the paper from the poor position in which it then was, and to recover the political and literary influence which it possessed in Mr. Perry's time, when it was the leading journal of the country. Chiefly through Mr. MacGillivray's influence, Mr. Black, who was already connected with the paper, was retained as editor, and he appointed Mackay assistant sub-editor. Those were days of serious political excitement, when, in Macaulay's words, "everything abroad and at home foreboded ruin to those who persisted in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age," and the problem was how "to save property, divided against itself; to save the multitude endangered by their own passions; and to save the aristocracy endangered by its own unpopular power." A gale of Irish mischief was beginning to blow, there was great distress among the working population of England and Scotland, and the *Chronicle* had plenty of work to do. An evening issue was started in addition to the morning one, and to the former Dickens, then a young man, was engaged as a contributor. There were then five other daily evening papers in London—the *Sun*, the *True Sun*, and the *Globe*, Whig and Liberal; the *Courier* and *Standard*, Tory. The *Times* and *Chronicle* were the two great daily papers. They were only what were called single papers, of four pages, with an extra sheet at rare intervals. There was then, in addition to the stamp duty, an onerous imposition of three-and-sixpence for each advertisement, long or short, and an excise-tax of threehalfpence per pound upon the paper used. The circulation of the *Chronicle* was some nine thousand; but, to its alarm, it became known that the *Times* had shot ahead to eleven thousand. This put the *Chronicle* on its mettle. Its chief care was to secure the excellence and fulness of its Parliamentary reports, which were for many years much superior to those of the *Times*. The proprietors also strengthened their staff of leader writers, which, Dr. Mackay states, included Mr. Charles Buller; Mr. W. J. Fox; Mr. Albany Fonblanque; Mr. Eyre Evans Crowe; Mr. James Wilson, who afterwards started the *Economist*, and became a prominent politician; Mr. T. Hodgskin, also a political economist; and Mr. T. Gaspey, a voluminous, but now forgotten, novelist. Mr. Payne Collier, the Shakspearian critic; Mr. Angus Reach and Mr. Shirley Brooks were also connected with the paper. Mr. Thackeray was an occasional contributor; and Moore and Campbell supplied *jeux d'esprit*.

Dr. Mackay tells a story of an incident which occurred during the crisis of the race between the two great newspaper rivals. The Americans had been making claims to the whole of our Western territories on the Pacific, including what are now called British Columbia, Vancouver's Island, and Oregon, and the relations between the two countries looked very threatening. The money-market was depressed, and the President's annual Message was expected with great anxiety. Early one morning, when everybody on the staff of the *Chronicle*, except Black and Mackay, had gone away, a stranger called to see the editor. Mackay saw him, and learned that he had just arrived from New York, and had a copy of the *New York Herald*, with the President's Message, in his pocket. He had left the steamer in which he came from New York at Queenstown, where she was to remain for four hours; had caught a Liverpool steam-packet which was just starting; and had on his arrival there taken a special train to London at a price of eighty guineas. He now offered this precious document to the *Chronicle* for 500*l*. Black appreciated the importance of the Message, but it was a large sum,

\* *Forty Years' Recollections of Life, Literature, and Public Affairs, from 1830 to 1870*. By Charles Mackay, LL.D. 2 vols. Chapman & Hall.

and there was nobody whom he could consult. The man said he could only wait ten minutes and would then go elsewhere. Black was much excited and perturbed, and was ready to promise the money gladly, if he could only have been sure that the contract would not be repudiated. Mackay advised him to risk it; but at the last moment Black shrank from the responsibility, and off went the visitor. He had not been gone two minutes when Black changed his mind; Mackay bolted to the street, but the stranger had taken a cab and was rattling onwards to Fleet Street, and there was no other cab to be had at that hour. Thus the *Times* got the Message before any one else, and it was of course a great triumph for it. There was a discussion among the proprietors of the *Chronicle*, in which they expressed great regret—after the event—that the news was not secured for their paper. This led Black to urge that a chief editor ought always to have a share of the paper, so that he might act without hesitation in an emergency; but “here,” says Dr. Mackay, “the subject dropped.” Black, it seems, once went out to fight a duel with Mr. Reebeck, but both returned scathless. Black was not only courageous, but independent. When Lord Melbourne, who esteemed him highly, said to him, “You treat me in a manner somewhat uncommon. Here am I, in the position of Prime Minister, in confidential intercourse with you, and always glad to see you. Yet you never ask for anything, though there is no man to whom I would sooner give a place.” But Black was staunch in his refusal, and said he preferred his work and influence as a journalist to anything else.

Dr. Mackay traces the ultimate decline of the *Morning Chronicle* to an unwise reduction of price; but he is wrong as to the date, which was 1847, and not, as he gives it, 1846. Its price was then fivepence a copy, the same as that of all the morning and evening journals, with the exception of the *Daily News*, which soon after its establishment had been reduced, not to twopence, as Dr. Mackay makes it, but to twopence-halfpenny. In alarm at the apparent progress of this paper, the proprietors of the *Chronicle* resolved, in spite of the warning of the late Mr. W. Smith, to lower their price to fourpence. This not only involved, as Dr. Mackay estimates, a loss of about 13,000*l.* a year, but was an open confession of weakness, and damaged rather than helped the circulation. Moreover, expenses had to be cut down, with the result of weakening both the literary power and enterprise of the paper. The *Chronicle* had, however, another chance, when soon afterwards it was taken up by new proprietors, whose policy was to keep a middle course between Liberalism and Toryism. It was then conducted with great spirit and ability, and again became a powerful journal. Unfortunately its circulation did not keep pace with its influence; and the sudden death of one of the proprietors (the name is not given), who had, according to Dr. Mackay, the largest pecuniary interest in the paper, brought its condition to a crisis. His shares were thrown into the market by his executors, and the paper, passing into the hands of an incompetent manager, fell rapidly in character and sale, till it ceased to exist in 1864, in the ninety-sixth year of its age. Although Dr. Mackay's statements about the *Morning Chronicle* are no doubt substantially correct, his dates are hazy, and his details not always accurate.

Among other subjects which are dealt with in Dr. Mackay's volumes are the Free-Trade struggle, the Irish Exodus, the getting up of the Scott monument in Edinburgh, the Burns Festival at Ayr, a proposed Literary Union, Scotch Deer Forests, and the French Revolution of 1848; but he has little that is new to tell, and in some cases the minuteness with which trivial matters are treated is rather tiresome. We get, however, in these pages some interesting glimpses of eminent persons. Dr. Mackay thinks that Rogers's ugliness has been exaggerated, and that an intellectual charm of countenance and fascination of manner atoned for his hard features. The author knew De Quincey, who, one day meeting him in the streets of Glasgow, declared that he had had a presentiment that they would meet; and started the theory that “the body was the nucleus of a comet, and that the soul surrounded it with a light unseen by the physical eye; and that the volume of this voluminous atmosphere was in proportion to the intellect, and thus the light cast before him by a man of genius was vastly greater than that projected by ordinary people.” In this strain he kept on talking for nearly half an hour, without Mackay getting a word in. The author breakfasted with Béranger in Paris in 1847, and found him a man with a broad capacious forehead, a very bald head, and a good-natured, benign, but somewhat slovenly, appearance. He confessed that he had no love for natural scenery, and was always unhappy when away from the rumble of the streets; but he liked flowers. His wants, he said, were few; he could brush his own coat, and clean his boots, as in other days, and lived well, though not luxuriously. In an interview with Wordsworth at Rydal Mount, the former said to him “suddenly,” and, as he thought, “somewhat ungraciously”:—“I am told that you write poetry. I never read a line of your poems, and don't intend to do so”; adding, “The truth is, I never read anybody's poetry but my own. I am an old man, and little time is left me. I use that little as well as I may to revise all my poems carefully, and make them as perfect as I can before I take my final departure.” And thereupon he recited, in a deep bass voice, some twenty or thirty lines of his own composition. Dr. Mackay gives a high estimate of Lord Lytton, with whom he seems to have been on terms of intimacy. Though he had gone through much trouble, disappointment, and sorrow, there was not one atom of cynicism in his nature, and his imagination was accompanied by a copious fund of common sense. Lord Lytton at one time was fond of discussing the physical phenomena of clairvoy-

ance and spiritualism; and seemed disposed to believe that at least departed spirits were permitted to make their presence known to mankind by some magnetic, electrical, or other agency, beyond our limited sphere of knowledge. He afterwards, however, in Dr. Mackay's opinion, abandoned this view, and gave attention to spiritualism only in the interest of his art as a novelist, in order to give a marvellous air to his stories. Dr. Mackay also met Prince Louis Napoleon occasionally in his shady days in London, and gives the usual picture of his silence and reserve, and lack-lustre vacant eyes. Speaking of Louis Philippe, the Prince said, his cunning had a tendency to overreach itself, and he cited the transportation of his uncle's remains to Paris as a proof of this. There are also personal sketches of George Combe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Thackeray, and Leech.

In 1857 Dr. Mackay made a lecturing tour through the United States and Canada; and, though personally treated with much kindness and hospitality, was much struck by the apparent prejudice against Englishmen, and the sensitiveness of most Americans on the subject of slavery. In the North the Irish and the negroes were equally detested. “I fervently wish,” said a prominent Democrat in New York, “that every Irishman in America would kill a nigger and be hung for it.” At this time there seems to have been a tendency on the part of the North to regard the division of the Union into two parts as a natural settlement of the difference arising from the slavery question; and Mr. Seward declared that, when the hour of separation arrived, “the two brothers would set a glorious example to the world of free institutions, by shaking hands peacefully, and parting without any bloodshed.” Among other persons whom the author met at this time was Mr. John Quincy Adams, then in his ninetieth year, having been born a British subject before the Declaration of American Independence. He is described as a man of extensive reading, clear intellect, and straightforward common sense; decided in his opinions, but not dogmatic. He had reduced the conduct of his life to a system. Next to temperance and regularity of life, he attributed his good health to the habit which he had early formed of taking an air-bath every day. “Men and women,” he said, “scarcely ever allow the fresh air of heaven to touch any part of their bodies except the hands and face, and even to these the ladies are systematically unjust by wearing gloves and veils. The surface of the beautiful human form requires to be for a certain period of every day exposed to the action of the atmosphere. I take my air-bath regularly every morning, and walk in my bedroom *in puris naturalibus*, with all the windows open, for a full half-hour. I also take a water-bath daily. I read and write for eight hours a day. I sleep eight hours, and devote another eight to exercise, conversation, and meals. I feel within myself a reserve of bodily strength which, I think, will carry me to a hundred years, unless I die by accident or am shot or hanged.” Three years after the conversation he was knocked down by a carriage in the street, and died from the injuries he received.

In the beginning of 1862 Dr. Mackay paid another visit to the United States as Correspondent of the *Times*, and remained there till the end of 1865, a period which included the Civil War, the defeat of the South, and the assassination of President Lincoln. He found that in the North the idea of a possible separation of the two divisions of the Union, which had formerly been treated as a sort of open question and rather with favour, was given up, and that any one who countenanced it was deemed a traitor of the blackest type. Mr. Seward had changed among the rest; and Dr. Mackay found himself abused and shunned because, although an inveterate enemy of slavery, he thought that the South had a right to secede, if it could not live happily in the Union. It may be imagined that his position at this time was not a pleasant one, and that he was glad to be released from it. It is to be hoped that his account of the cruel treatment which, he alleges, was inflicted on Mr. Jefferson Davis during his imprisonment is somewhat exaggerated. He says that, although in delicate health, the Confederate ex-President “was subjected to the indignity of manacles, was never left alone day or night for a single moment, and was compelled to feed himself with his fingers, because he was denied the use of a knife or a fork, on the plea that, if allowed them, he might attempt suicide. Worse than all, he was deprived of sleep by express orders given to every sentinel set over him to strike his musket violently on the ground when they saw his weary eyes closing in sleep.” Altogether, it will be seen that, if Dr. Mackay's volumes are not of a very brilliant kind, they contain a considerable amount of interesting gossip.

#### PALGRAVE'S DUTCH GUIANA.\*

WHY so accomplished a traveller and Orientalist as Mr. Palgrave should have been so long shelved with a small appointment in an unwholesome West Indian island is one of those inscrutable mysteries which throw a tinge of romance over the arrangements of the Consular Service. Had he been sent where his special attainments could have come into play he might have been making valuable contributions to our geographical and political information. As it is, he has been doing his best under unfavourable and uncongenial circumstances, and we have to thank him for a very excellent book on the Dutch colony of Guiana. It is true that the

\* *Dutch Guiana*. By W. G. Palgrave, Author of “A Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia.” London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.



subject does not sound either very important or very attractive. Probably most of Mr. Palgrave's readers have formed their notions of the three Guianas—the English, the French, and the Dutch—from Mr. Anthony Trollope's *West Indies and Spanish Main*, in which they are described as dull mud flats of inexhaustible fertility, stretching indefinitely back into an unknown interior, and ready to supply the world with sugar if only there were coolies to cultivate the canes. Such they are, indeed; but, while awaiting the canes and the coolies, the teeming soil is covered with glorious growths of vegetation, and Mr. Palgrave delights us with most picturesque pictures in what we may call the tropical Dutch style. Dutch Guiana, though well governed and fairly thriving, can scarcely be called a model colony. It does little more than pay its way, and literally, like the mother-country, and metaphorically as well, it has to struggle to keep its head above water. It has not solved the West Indian labour problem; it conforms its habits to the climate, and does not exhaust itself with overwork; it does not launch out in those scientific inventions which the great planters of the Spanish islands and some of our own West Indian colonies have lately been calling in to their aid; it is looked after by a judicious paternal despotism, thinly veiled under constitutional forms. In short, Dutch Guiana teaches no particular lessons, and points no very valuable moral. But its past history and its present condition present a good deal that is placidly interesting, and they have supplied Mr. Palgrave with abundant materials for an admirable book which is never tedious. He visited Guiana as the guest of the Governor. His pages are nearly exhaustive so far as facts and statistics go, while they are lightened by graphic social sketches as well as sparkling descriptions of scenery.

We have said that Guiana has to struggle with the water that threatens to engulf it, and indeed in more ways than one there is a striking physical resemblance between the colony and the mother-country. Some people aver that the Guiana coast is steadily sinking; others assert that it is the deflection of the winds and the currents that threatens it with an increasing volume of water. It is certain, at least, that the ocean gains on the land where it is not kept out by systematic embanking. Inland, too, in Guiana, as in Holland, all the communication is conducted by boats, and plantations that stretch over a dead level are intersected by innumerable canals and ditches. In the chief city of Paramaribo, as in Amsterdam or Rotterdam, the business goes forward chiefly on the water. Vessels come up from the sea on the broad stream of the Surinam to unload at a point where they meet broad-bottomed cargo boats from up the country, and rafts of the many-coloured woods that are cut in the swamps and forests. The officials, the merchants, and their clerks, move about in covered barges pulled by so many pairs of sturdy rowers; the converse of the Venetian gondolas, as Mr. Palgrave remarks, for on the Surinam the craft are white while their crews are black-faced. Considering the lowness of the situation and the superabundance of surrounding fluid, it is strange that the city should be so healthy as it is; but its salubrity is in great measure owing to rational sanitary arrangements. The heat, however, is intense, and even Mr. Palgrave, case-hardened as he ought to be after his Arabian experiences, says that the patches of shade only protect you from being burned, but do not save you from slow dissolution. For on the Surinam, as in the spice islands of the South, the Dutch have planted noble avenues everywhere, so as to relieve the glare of the dazzling thoroughfares with the cool masses of foliage. And, as in all the towns of the Netherlands they lay out botanical and zoological gardens, so the gardens of Paramaribo are especially beautiful, and enjoy all the advantages such a climate can give them. Like the rest of the natives, the inmates of the cages and enclosures succumb in the noonday heat to the spirit of drowsiness, and are to be seen indulging in siestas in their cages. But the birds that swarm in the trees are awake and clamorous; and clouds of brilliant butterflies and humming-birds are fluttering about among the gorgeous blossoms of the flower-beds. Mr. Palgrave reproduces with graphic fidelity scenes which must have indelibly impressed themselves on his memory, and we like his telling pictures of tropical life better than anything of the kind in either Kingsley or Trollope. In the capital itself, as in the colony at large, the coloured man seems to be fulfilling the destiny that Mr. Trollope predicted for him in the *West Indies* generally. He thrives, if he does not increase and multiply, and makes steady progress towards inheriting the land. Paramaribo wears an aspect of prosperity; and the town is increasing slowly, though there is ample room for further expansion. But the rows of smart cottages in trim gardens and well-kept provision grounds that are run up year after year are tenanted for the most part by small negro capitalists. In the European quarter, on the other hand, there are signs of decay; and the great mansions of the old colonial magnates have become a world too wide for such life as stirs within them. There is a complaint of lack of money for operations on a grand scale. There is a scarcity of labour; for the negroes will no more be overworked than their betters, and many of the staidier of them have set up in business for themselves. Not a few of the owners of plantations are absentees, leaving agents or attorneys to act in their absence. And many of the properties have passed into the hands of blacks, who abandon the great rambling mansions for flimsy but pretty habitations more suited to their tastes. The course of cultivation has been changing, as there are certain crops which the negroes grow by preference. Thus they retain a prejudice against the cane-fields, which they connect with the suffer-

ings of their days of servitude; but they take very kindly to cocoa-plantations, which are cheaply cultivated and very remunerative. The proprietors of the larger sugar estates begin to have recourse very much to the labour of the coolies, who have been only recently introduced into Surinam. But, as we have remarked already, whether from lack of capital or of enterprise, they have held aloof from modern scientific machinery; and there is but a single estate in the settlements which can boast of a centrifugal cylinder. The farm buildings and sugar factories, however, are sometimes marvels of massive construction. So treacherous is the watery soil that they must often be constructed upon piles, like the houses of Amsterdam; and thus occasionally "the foundations exceed by double the surface dimensions of the buildings above."

Most of the white residents manage apparently to make a tolerable living; but the decline of the colony had been rapid, although things have latterly taken a turn for the better. It sounds almost incredible, but Mr. Palgrave tells us that the number of acres at present in cultivation is under 30,000, while the estimate of the total superficies is a million and a half, of which 400,000 have been brought under tillage at one time or another. In the beginning of the century there were 640 estates along the banks of the lower Surinam and its tributaries. In 1862 the number had fallen to 229; now it exceeds 300. The increase and diminution of the reclaimed lands supplies a significant commentary on the history of a settlement which has had more than its fair share of troubles. In their early days the colonists were exposed to the ravages of pirates and buccaneers, and of the troublesome French neighbours who were hand in glove with those free-trading gentry. Their great benefactor was a Count of Sommelsdyk, a scion of the famous Dutch family of the name, and a friend of our own William of Orange. Van Sommelsdyk repelled invasion, established law, repressed the disorders that were changing a garden back into a wilderness, but he perished in a mutiny of the soldiers, whom he had been curbing with the strong hand. Happily his works survived him, and he found worthy successors; but subsequently the very existence of Guiana was repeatedly threatened by formidable servile insurrections. The insurgents enjoyed peculiar advantages, independently of their overwhelming numbers, in the limitless wilderness to which they could retreat. There they herded in bands like so many wild beasts, and thence they issued to burn, pillage, and murder. Their enslaved brethren were always ready to lend them a helping hand, and things came to such a pass that no outlying colonist could retire to rest with any feeling of security. The imminence of the peril induced a policy of prudent compromise. Sundry treaties of amity and alliance were signed with insurgent blacks, by which, in exchange for assignments of jungle within certain limits, they undertook to support the authorities against all troubles from without or within. These treaties, now of old standing, have been faithfully observed on both sides. The blacks still occupy the backwoods, in numbers which are very variously estimated; and they have frequently rendered loyal assistance to the colonists, even against the people of their own race. Meanwhile they live comfortably in their bush villages, occasionally taking wages for such work as woodsmen or boatmen as may seem good to them. Emancipation in Dutch Guiana was deferred to 1863; and Mr. Palgrave attributes it to the admirable teaching and widespread influence of the Moravian missionaries that it was effected everywhere so smoothly and satisfactorily. There were no disturbances; the labourers employed on the estates generally continued quietly at their occupation; and at present the very best feeling seems to exist between colonists of different colours, if we may judge by the enthusiastic reception given to the Governor when Mr. Palgrave accompanied him on a progress through the up-country plantations. So, in spite of the shadow that has fallen upon the West Indian and South American sugar-growers who have to compete with slave labour, we should say that there are worse places than Dutch Guiana for a man who enjoys heat and objects to over-exertion; for, although it lies low among woods and stagnant water, the climate is far healthier than might be supposed, and the inhabitants are law-abiding and friendly.

#### THE SHADOW OF THE SWORD.\*

MR. ROBERT BUCHANAN'S novel seems intended to prove that war is not an altogether admirable institution, and that the First Napoleon was a man who valued his own fame or that of France more than a few thousand lives of Frenchmen. Perhaps these propositions might have been generally accepted without any trouble on Mr. Buchanan's part; and he is not the first writer who has pointed out the unpleasant effect of the conscription system under the Emperor whose name is still held in honour by many people. There MM. Erckmann-Chatrian have been before Mr. Buchanan; but in one point he has gone beyond the French authors. Their hero, although he mixed up his grief at being parted from his Jeanne with his longing for a good bowl of bouillon in a manner which was not very pleasant, did at least do the duty to which he was called as well as he could. Mr. Buchanan's hero, on the contrary, has learnt to hate the name of the Emperor whom most of his companions adore; and has so conscientious a horror of war and bloodshed that, rather than carry arms and possibly take human lives in a battle-field, he hides

\* *The Shadow of the Sword. A Romance.* By Robert Buchanan. 3 vols. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1876.

himself in secret places and breaks in with a mass of rock the skull of a corporal who is sent after him.

When one notes the description of this hero, by name Rohan Gwenfern, a Breton peasant, his conduct appears less surprising; for a young man who has the head, throat, and chin of a lion cannot of course be expected to behave like ordinary mortals. He is introduced to the reader in this remarkable guise, hanging on a rope half-way down a precipice, hunting for sea-birds' eggs, while from above a girl called Marcelle looks down on him. "What a depth!" says the author; "she grows dizzy anew as she gazes into it; but presently the brain-wave passes away, and her head grows calm." Rohan, it seems, was accustomed in his earliest childhood to the cliffs and the sea; and there had arisen in him, says Mr. Buchanan, "that terrible and stolid love for Water which wise critics and dwellers in towns believe to be the special and sole prerogative of the poets, particularly of Lord Byron, and which, when described as an attribute of a Breton peasant or a Connaught 'boy,' they refer to the abysses of sentimentality." One would like to know what is the meaning of a "terrible and stolid" love, and whether there is any better reason for using such epithets than for spelling water with a capital letter. However that may be, Rohan, we are told, loved the sea as much as a street girl loves the streets or a ploughman the fields; and when, after his mother became a widow, the curé attempted to make a priest of the boy, the experiment failed, and he returned to his old haunts. There were two kinds of life which he hated. He would never be a priest because he disliked it, and because then he could never marry his cousin Marcelle. "He could never become a soldier (God and all the saints be praised for that) because he was a widow's only son." Some days after Rohan's exploit on the cliff, he and Marcelle wander together into an ocean-cave, called the Cathedral from its peculiar formation; and at the first incoming of the tide Marcelle prepares to run out. Rohan however keeps her, telling her there is yet time to spare; and as, fascinated by his strength and beauty, "she placed her soft brown hand on his knees, and looked up into his face, she felt within her the mysterious stir of a yearning she could not understand." One is not perhaps more surprised to find Mr. Robert Buchanan indulging in descriptions of this kind than to be taught by him that when, the tide having risen, Marcelle is obliged to take off her stockings and draw up her petticoats, "No blush tinged her cheek at thus revealing her pretty limbs; she knew they were pretty, of course, and she felt no shame. True modesty does not consist in a prurient veiling of all that nature has made fair, and perhaps there is no more uncleanness in showing a shapely leg than in baring a well-formed arm."

It may certainly be safely asserted that no one would be offended at the fact of Marcelle's wading bare-legged through the water; but in the author's manner of drawing attention to this fact, and making excuses for what requires none, it is not difficult to find offence. As Rohan and Marcelle come out of the cave the water is deep, and he carries her in his arms. During this proceeding her hair, which Breton maidens kept sacred from the eye of man, falls loose, and this is the signal for Rohan's declaring that he loves her. "That disarrangement of the coif," explains the author, with an iteration that reminds one of "This cherry-bounce, that loved noyau" in Canning's *Rovers*, "that loosening of the virgin hair, divulged all. It broke the barrier between them, it bared each to each in all the nudity of passion," whatever that may be. As they go from the cave towards a Menhir, or huge monolith, their talk falls on a certain Master Arfoll, a travelling schoolmaster of whom strange and fearful things are said; such as that he is an atheist, and wishes the Emperor might be defeated and killed. Marcelle bursts into an eloquent glorification of the great Emperor, and, getting no answer from Rohan, cries to him, "Speak, then, Rohan! Are you against him? Do you hate him in your heart?" and adds that, if he did, she would hate him. The affectation of such French terms of expression as "Speak, then!" is found in other parts of the book. In one passage, indeed, one character addresses another in these words:—"Go, ingrate!" and "Malediction!" is constantly employed as an oath.

As the lovers approach the Menhir, Master Arfoll himself, who is described by the author as "lean and skeletonian," appears and discourses to them of the ancient city which is said to be buried with a subterranean river beneath the village of Kromlaix, and of the storm of war directed by the Emperor that shakes and lays bare the whole of France; and, after Marcelle has gone, he tells Rohan that there is to be a new conscription, and that this time even the only sons of widows will not be spared. On a later occasion Rohan, having pondered on this intelligence, asks Master Arfoll if a man whom the conscription called would be justified in answering "No, I will not follow, for thy leadership is accurst." Master Arfoll answers, "Before God he would."

Rohan Gwenfern threw his hands up into the air.

"Then, remember, if ever that call should come to me, if ever the bloody hand should be laid upon my shoulder and the bloody finger point me forward—remember, then, what I swear now—I will resist, to the last drop of my blood, to the last fibre of my flesh; though all the world should be against me, even what I love best, I will be firm; though the Emperor himself should summon me, I will defy him and spit upon him."

This speech reminds us of a Peace Conference held several years ago at Bern, during which one of the orators, an eager, fiery Pole, ended his redomontate with these remarkable words:—"Bientôt se lèvera le soleil glorieux de la paix; et puis—à tout despote, à tout tyran—guerre à outrance, guerre à mort!"

As things turn out, when the ballot for the conscription takes place Rohan Gwenfern is absent, and Marcelle, drawing for him, draws number one. Rohan meets her that night in the moonlight, and in spite of his great love for the girl, who urges him to go and fight for the great Emperor, observes to himself when he is left alone, "I have sworn it, O my God, *Never, never!*" Then follows a chapter entitled "The Red Angel," which it would be charitable to suppose was written under the influence of some strange delusion. What it is intended to mean it would be idle to wonder; but it begins with a quotation from the Bible touching the Passover, and goes on to describe an interview between Napoleon and a Monster, who seems to be identical with the celebrated *Homme Rouge*, and is always thirsting for blood. At intervals of two or three paragraphs is inserted the refrain of the Litany of the English Church Service; and in the midst of this extraordinary tissue of words Mr. Buchanan, having said that an Avatar is blind, deaf, irrational, and pitiless, goes on to say, "We shall be answered here that Napoleon was what strange speakers and writers of all times have called a Great Man." Perhaps the strangest of all writers who have busied themselves with Napoleon is the one who imagines that his unintelligible verbiage will be answered at all, and describes Napoleon as an Avatar without explaining of what. But these remarks serve a purpose in leading up to two utterances of wisdom which certainly should not have been lost. "Voltaire," continues the author, "was great because he could not revere. Rousseau was great because he was incapable of shame." And it is explained in a foot-note, for fear these sentences should be misread, that "Voltaire was the one good Samaritan in an age of cruelty and superstition," and that "Rousseau, despite the effrontery of his moral bearing, was a messenger of Divine truths."

These reflections have led us away from the fortunes of Rohan Gwenfern, who, we are told, did not lack courage of a certain sort, and yet the dread of being drawn for the conscription filled him with the sick horror towards feel. This being so, perhaps it was not strange that he should run away and hide, although he might have done better to acknowledge the true reason for his flight, instead of explaining it as caused by a horror of shedding blood. Perhaps, however, he meant his own blood, as, when driven at last to bay, he has no scruple in shedding that of his pursuers, whom he attacks from an inaccessible point of a cliff cavern. The author's view of Rohan's proceedings is very curious:—

"Yes, Pipriac," he says, apostrophising the corporal sent to arrest Rohan, "make sure of that [that he means to fight]; for is it not written that the very worm will turn, and that even innocent things become terrible when they struggle for sweet life? Nor shall this man be blamed if he becomes what you make him—a murderous and murdering animal, with all the gentle love and pity burnt up within his veins."

As to Rohan being a very worm in spite of his having a lion's face, that point we are not anxious to dispute. As to his being an innocent and blameless thing, that we are disposed to doubt when we read that, having deserted from the Emperor's army, he followed it until he got his chance of being alone with the sleeping general at dead of night, and only refrained from stabbing him either because he was afraid, or because Mr. Buchanan dared not take such a liberty with history.

We have spoken of the very obvious faults of Mr. Buchanan's book; its merit lies in the power of certain descriptive passages which would command more admiration if they did not suggest imitation of M. Victor Hugo, a writer with whose excellence that of Mr. Buchanan can hardly be compared.

#### PESCHEL'S RACES OF MAN.\*

OF the numerous and valuable contributions to science made by the late Professor of Geography at the University of Leipsig, perhaps the most important, as well as the most characteristic, is the ethnological work which has lately come out in English under the title of *The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution*. The compilation of a manual or handbook of this kind was not due in the first instance, we are given to understand, to any spontaneous impulse of his own. It would never, he says, have occurred to his mind to set himself upon drawing up a new system or doctrinal scheme of ethnology had he not, early in the year 1869, been requested by the then War Minister of Prussia, General (now Marshal) Von Roon, to edit a fourth and new edition of that erudite soldier's *Völkerkunde als Propädeutik der politischen Geographie*, or *Ethnology as an Introduction to Political Geography*. This book was to be described on the title-page as the joint work of both authors, the whole to be submitted to the revision of the General. Last autumn, when, after nearly five years of hard work, some of the proof-sheets were ready, ill health disabled Count von Roon from executing this task. Delay appearing undesirable, the work was forthwith issued from the press, his name being omitted, by his own wish, from the title-page. Herr Peschel's wish to urge anew and more widely upon the public the scientific claims of the general's treatise was thus, to his regret, defeated. Without having the original work at hand we have not the means of pronouncing upon the exact proportion of new matter with which the Leipsig Professor is to be credited; but there can be no doubt as to the scientific value of the book as it left his hands. The verdict of Germany made itself known in the demand for a second

\* *The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution*. From the German of Oscar Peschel. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876.



edition almost from the date of its first appearance. This reissue was for some time delayed by the author in the hope that he might avail himself of the opportunity thoroughly to rearrange his work, as well as to incorporate the most recent materials, together with the results of the criticism which the book had undergone through the medium both of the press at home and abroad and of private correspondence. This intention had to be postponed on account of the illness which carried him off in August of last year. No alteration of the systematic groups could in consequence be adopted, such as the writer's short preface points to his having contemplated—in the instance, for example, of his combination into one "Mediterranean race" of the Indo-European, the Semitic, and the Hamite nations, against which new arguments had in the interval been brought forward. There can assuredly be no generic name less appropriate for an ethnological group which, with the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians, couples the Southern Arabs and Abyssinians in one direction, and the wide Caucasian families in another; bringing in to complete the sum of affinities the entire Sanskrit-speaking nations, not omitting the Persians and Afghans, the races of so-called Classic speech, with their modern representatives, the Celtic, Slave, and Teutonic nations, besides European races of doubtful position, Basques and diverse Caucasian varieties of blood and speech, such as those of Daghestan, Tshetsh, Tsherkess, Lazi, Suan, Georgian, and Mingrelian. There is something queer in seeing Hamite, Semite, and Indo-European bracketed together as one, to balance single or homogeneous groups like the negroes, the Hotentots or Bush people, the Papuans, the Australians, or the Dravida population of Western India, not to speak of the varied, yet radically allied, branches of the great Mongoloid stock. The weakest and least satisfactory part of this book is that which Herr Peschel has given to this important section of his subject. Coming in at the close of his ethnological survey, it bears signs of that waning power of work, or that impatience to get the matter off his hands, of which we have warnings in the preface. How else are we to account for the whole Indo-European family, widened as it is beyond ordinary or conventional limits by our author's own scheme of classification, being disposed of in less than a dozen and a half pages? He may have thought that enough has been said upon the subject of those familiar or favourite races to allow him to husband his time and space on behalf of the less known, the less developed, or the wholly pre-historic members of the human family. But the result is anyhow to deprive his treatise of the symmetry, the organic completeness, and the proportion which we should look for in the leading work of a professor of more than merely national or provincial reputation.

In the case of a science—if it be as yet entitled to be called a science—so progressive as ethnology, so liable to accessions of fresh discoveries and novel speculations, there is no possibility of laying down dogmatic principles of classification, still less of defining the limits within which the field of observation and analysis is to be mapped out. This difficulty was painfully impressed upon the author's mind, as he informs us, while his work was in the press, several new results of investigation having appeared of which he was unable to avail himself. Thus in the early chapters the Mahomedan monarchy at Talifu was described as extant and prosperous, whereas, according to the latest intelligence, it was destroyed by the Chinese in 1872. Such a manual as he contemplated must in consequence be treated as provisional only, and must in fairness be judged by reference to the state of ethnological knowledge at the time of its compilation. That Professor Peschel was fully abreast of the widest literature and the most advanced speculations of his time is evident from his copious references, and his critical treatment of the various theories over which rival men of science dispute, and often wrangle. It is to his credit that he is always impartial, fair, and candid, at the same time that he puts clearly and succinctly the several points at issue. He is not to be set down as a partisan of any extreme school in either direction, but may be listened to as an open-minded and judicious umpire, balancing disputed evidences and softening rugged points of divergence. Though a decided evolutionist, he is far from going the whole length of breaking down the last barriers between man and brute, between mind and matter. He holds the Darwinian doctrine, not as a wholly successful solution of the great problem of specific variety in forms of life, but as the best attempt yet made to explain the connexion between existing forms and those of earlier ages, and to approximate their manifold species or groups to one common ancestry. Although Mr. Darwin has not been able to give strict proof of his theory of the transmutation of species, he has nevertheless, our author considers, thoroughly shaken the credit of the opposite theory which held specific characters to be immutable. In the sphere of ethnology he has greatly strengthened the conjecture that all races have sprung from a single primordial form, or group of forms, having, by the accumulation of small differences, rendered persistent by undisturbed transmission, developed into varieties or species. At the same time Herr Peschel is careful to present the difficulties which beset the doctrine of natural selection. As a strictly utilitarian system, how, he asks, is it to be reconciled with facts which point to a detrimental principle, or to an agency which thwarts the law of progressive improvement? The evolution of new organs, or the transformation of old ones, would certainly have required long periods during which the incomplete novelty, if not directly detrimental, must at least have remained neutral in the struggle for existence. Moreover, it becomes evident that organs must exist before advantage can be taken of them. There

is not much in the objection taken up by our author, from the admission of Mr. Darwin himself, that mankind at large, however widely differing in racial or other peculiarities, possess a vocal apparatus adapted to song, although not employed for musical purposes. The whole question of the origin of the æsthetic sense or disposition may be allowed to lie beyond the immediate grasp of natural selection. That this is clear to Mr. Darwin himself is shown by his recourse to the supplementary hypothesis of sexual selection, which he concedes at the same time to be but tentative and but imperfectly applicable to the problem of the cause and the influence of beauty and its opposite qualities in relation to vital phenomena. Instead of recapitulating the obvious anomalies in nature, or in human instincts and habits, which this hypothesis fails to meet, we should have been glad to see our author apply himself to the independent solution of the difficulty. Like most critics of Mr. Darwin, he finds it easier to pick holes than to stop gaps in his scheme of evolution. It is of course not as a speculative philosopher, nor as an originator in his special walk of knowledge, that Herr Peschel addresses the public. Nor does he claim the attention of the advanced and exacting thinker so much as of the learner and of those whose logical powers are as yet immature. The immense array of facts that he has collected for the illustration of the history of mankind, with the skill he has shown in grouping and classifying them, gives his work its value for educational purposes. We know of no manual of the kind coming at all near it in comprehensiveness, in methodical arrangement, or in fulness of matter.

Before entering upon the topic more especially indicated by the title of his book, the distribution of the various races of man, our author devotes half his space to the determination of what distinguishes mankind at large—starting from man's place in nature as distinct from the lower animals—the antiquity of the race, and the probable site of its origin. He states briefly the arguments which exclude by turns each existing continent or island in favour of the hypothetical Lemuria, or submerged continent, to which belonged Madagascar, and perhaps parts of Eastern Africa, the Maldives and Laccadives, and probably Ceylon, which was never attached to India, and parts even of the island of Celebes in the far East, which possesses a perplexing fauna with semi-African features. This lost continent, the Indian Ethiopia of Ptolemy, would include the whole range of the lemurs. Within its limits we find the whole of the anthropomorphous apes. And by the means of transit and dispersion thus afforded our author conceives the first representatives of our race, whether we suppose them to have passed through some now missing link or to have had some independent origin of their own, to have reached the abodes where the great submergence left them. Connected with this is the problem of the unity of the human race, upon which Herr Peschel brings to bear the most recent evidences, including the proofs of man's rude and savage condition wherever he can be traced to his primitive lurking-place in caves or lake-dwellings. An ample and careful section is taken up with man's physical character as determined by measurements of the brain and skull, the proportions of limbs and stature, and differences in regard to the skin and hair.

The chapter on language, its origin and development, and its value as a means of the classification of race, forms one of the most valuable parts of the book. An immense amount of instructive matter follows, tracing the industrial, social, and religious phases of human development, many of these topics giving scope to wide discrepancies of view, and calling for delicacy and tact in handling. The temper in which the author approaches these critical themes is as praiseworthy as the industry and judgment which he shows in marshalling the results of his reading. Although himself no first-hand explorer of nature, nor in the strict sense an originator in the way of physiological or biological research, he has well earned the thanks of the public by his admirable method of combining and making available the stores of knowledge amassed by the separate toil of others. The legacy he has left us in this useful manual enables us to form some estimate of what science has lost in so able, painstaking, and conscientious a worker.

#### FRENCH CHRISTMAS BOOKS.

IT can scarcely be disputed that decorative gift-books are among the things which they order better in France. The absence, as a rule, of the too painfully elaborate and gaudy cloth binding is in itself a pleasure to the eye. Most of the French gift-books before us have mere wrappers of grey or buff paper, which are by no means weak, as German paper covers always are, and which can be replaced by vellum or Russian leather or morocco, according to the taste of the owner. Then, generally speaking, the illustrations are done with a hand more free than that of our artists on wood. There is a careless humour in the woodcuts, and the etchings have the spirit of rapid and unspoiled sketches. No Christmas book will give more pleasant pleasure than the fourth volume of *L'Art*. If this periodical has a fault, it is its size, which is perhaps a little unwieldy. There is ample material for choice in the contents, and the amateur to whom tapestry is a weariness can turn to the drawings of enamels, of ivories, of modern and ancient *faience*, to the illustrated reports of French and English Exhibitions, to the criticisms on critics, as on M. Charles Blanc, M. Gautier, and so on. *L'Art* has most competent English correspondents, and an agreeable contributor in Mr. George Du Maurier. Among the etchers, M. Le Gros is represented by "L'incendie," in which wild work

of art we see a small family surrounded by dense smoke; a hill shows through a break in the darkness; the family have rescued a table which has lost a leg, and have saved a cradle, a mattress, and two kegs, containing, we trust, some material comfort. We have far too high an opinion of the genius of M. Le Gros to consider "L'incendie" a fair specimen of his style. His "Death and the Woodcutter" is much more pleasant; and the effect of morning light through the graceful stems of the bare trees is obtained with complete success, and by admirably simple means. It would be easy and pleasant to go on discoursing about the pictures in *L'Art*—a paper which is full of good, sober, and just criticism, trustworthy news about art, and designs not otherwise to be obtained by most people.

*Histoire du mobilier* (Jacquemart. Hachette) is a sumptuous volume. The type is beautiful; and the paper, as a high-flown critic once remarked, "a separate ecstasy." The work contains more than two hundred *eaux fortes typographiques*, whatever they may be, by M. Jules Jacquemart. We are ignorant, to our shame, of the nature of the *procédé Gillot* by which these illustrations are produced; but the effect leaves little to be desired. Take, for example, the cabinet of red *laque* (p. 110), and consider the delicate intricacy of the flowers and fruits and birds represented there. The drawing of a table given by Marie Antoinette to Mme. de Polignac is a wonder of refinement; the embossed bronze figures stand out with marvellous distinctness. The history of furniture is succinct enough; and from the drawing of a Scandinavian chair the author hastens through the fourteenth century, the rich fifteenth century, the Renaissance, the gorgeous upholstery of the Grand Monarch, and down to the Revolution. The Italian coffers and the ivory and ebony work (see p. 72) have the best claim to the name of art, but enthusiasts may sigh for the marqueterie that is out of the reach of any but Rothschilds. Why has one not the secret of Cousin Pons, who amassed his famous collection, and lived in comfort, on about one hundred a year? Bronzes, ivories, and granulated Phœnician and Etruscan jewelry, the spoil of the tombs of the Lucumos, enter into MM. Jacquemart and Barbé de Jouy's literal rendering of the word "mobilier."

*L'Italie* (Jules Gourdault. Hachette) is as interesting and beautiful a work, artistically considered, as *Italy from the Alps to Etna*, which, with its four hundred and fifty woodcuts, we have already noticed.

*Promenade autour du monde* (M. le baron Hübnér. Hachette). This fifth edition of M. Hübnér's tour is not less sumptuous than the volume on Italy. Many of the three hundred engravings are copied from designs by the author. His contrast between the imbecile old Red Indian in semi-European dress and the graceful and unspoiled savages on the opposite page (130) is very diverting. The Japanese *hari-kari* is also impressive; but we had thought that a Pow-wow was a medicine man, whereas M. Hübnér seems to use the term as equivalent to "palaver." The Japanese ceremonial (p. 286) is characteristic; and, briefly, it would be difficult to find a better or more accomplished guide in a fanciful voyage round the world than M. Hübnér. He had good opportunities of seeing the cities of men, and made the best of them.

*L'histoire d'Angleterre* (racontée à mes petits enfants, par M. Guizot. Hachette). M. Guizot ought really to have known better, at least so one thinks in the light of the new and intensely accurate histories for children. The learned author, by the lax way in which he speaks of the Witan, and how they neglected "les droits d'Edgar Atheling," may give French children an erroneous idea of the English Constitution. He brings in Rowena too, in the calmest way, as if she were as historical as Queen Anne. To be sure he says "on raconte" the romantic tale, but it is thus that the historical sense of childhood has too long been perverted. At Senlac he says nothing of the arrow, and leads the reader to imagine that the Normans slew the King by no missile wound. Then we have Edith:—"C'est Harold dit-elle. On l'emporta, ainsi que ses frères, à l'abbaye de Waltham, où il fut enterré sous une pierre portant seulement ces deux mots, *Infelix Harold*." What becomes of the cairn above the sea-coast, and

rupis in alto  
Præcepit claudi vertice corpus humi.

We have chosen these *flores historiarum* at random, and probably we leave many to blush unseen. But though no English mother ought to teach her children the history of their country out of a French book, the work is beautifully printed, and the illustrations are most pleasing. The Highlanders did not in point of fact wear philibegs at the battle of Bannockburn, but of course it is not to be expected that a French artist should know that. As a mere volume of historical pictures, such as children like, the book is quite praiseworthy.

*L'oncle Placide* (J. Girardin. Hachette) is a thoroughly interesting and diverting story, capably illustrated. The curtain rises on a room full of young clerks in a public office, all engaged, like Cowper and his friends, "in giggling and making giggle." The sport is to peel apples and oranges, and throw the rind at the hats of citizens below. "De remords ils n'en avaient l'ombre, et ces mécréants s'en allaient le front levé, comme des justes, fiers d'avoir tiré d'un orange ou d'une pomme tout ce qu'elle pouvait contenir de jouissances légitimes et de distractions coupables." The senior among these playful lads was M. Clodion, bald, respectable, and therefore called Clodion le Chevelu. The true history of this excellent man gets mixed up with a wretched episode in the late war, and we must refer the sympathetic reader to the work itself if he would know more of the life and death of *L'oncle Placide*.

*Bêtes et gens* (Stop. E. Plon) is a collection of new and very lively fables in verse, illustrated with a great deal of spirit. The contrast between the little pig who came of a wild boar's stock and the little pigs of the farmyard is ludicrous in the extreme. The young *sanglier* has all Belleville and everything that there is of most irreconcilable in his dingy roughness, while the domestic pig is a type of the contented peasant. The fashions of the year 1876 are caricatured with much cleverness in *Le Lorgnon*. *Bêtes et gens* is a good book to give away, but, once bought, will prove a tempting book to keep.

*Les contes de ma mère* (Bertall. E. Plon) is in appearance a companion volume to the other. We prefer the fables as literature, but have nowhere seen of late prettier pictures of children than the riders of bees and beetles in "Le roi bonhomme." In "Les trois sœurs" we have a youth riding with admirable ease and grace on a most ferocious undiscovered animal. The prince Sanspareil is a perfect dandy, and the whole book is likely to put the young reader in good humour with himself.

On *La bannière bleue* (Léon Cahun. Hachette) it would be presumptuous to deliver a hasty opinion. That it is full of adventure and incident, relating, as it does, the exploits of a Mussulman, a Christian, and a heathen, during the Mongol Conquest, may be taken for granted. But the Mongol Conquest is not a portion of history on which a discreet person will hazard unconsidered opinions, and though after a few years' reading we might venture to remark on M. Cahun's facts, we will now only praise the fertility of his fancies, and so leave *La bannière bleue* to amuse readers who ought to quit it "not only charmed, but instructed more."

Amsterdam has sometimes been called "a vulgar Venice"—a superficial remark which every design in *Amsterdam et Venise* (Henry Havard. Plon) disproves. M. Havard himself, well known by his writings on the art of the Low Countries, contributes some of the designs; the others are by MM. Flameng and Gaucheret. These artists have found, even in Venice, points of view not yet made too common and familiar. The frontispiece, an etching of the Pont St. Barnabé, displays firm and simple style, and has a luminous effect. "Le chemin de la station" (p. 9) gives the two main impressions of Venice, "the melancholy of her past greatness, the mirth of her eternal sunlight." Among the most interesting designs is the sketch, after Vecellio, of a Venetian lady trying to produce the admired golden tint in her hair by spreading out her rich locks in the fierce mid-day sun. M. Gaucheret's "Ruelle donnant sur un canal" shows the stranger and poorer side of Venice, so wonderful even in her unconsidered and ruinous byways. Among reproductions of pictures, one notes the "Fête champêtre" of Giorgione (p. 561):—

Beyond all depth away,  
The heat lies silent at the brink of day:  
Now the hand trails upon the viol-string  
That sobs, and the brown faces cease to sing,  
Sad with the whole of pleasure.

Turn to "La femme qui ne dort pas" of Terburg in Amsterdam, a fat, comely wench drinking steadily, while her lover has fallen asleep over his pipe; the contrast is, after all, the contrast between Venice and Amsterdam. We may take a future opportunity of speaking more fully of this book.

The books we have glanced at have all appealed, on the whole, to grown men and women; but the French publishers have not neglected the tastes of children. Here, for example, in a grey wrapper, is *Le Journal de la Jeunesse* (Hachette), which need not fear to compete with any English periodical of its kind. *La bannière bleue*, already noticed, was published in this magazine, and here is information about Central Africa, buffalo-hunting, and the military organization of the Gauls. Caesar's *Commentaries* will acquire fresh interest from these sketches of old forts and modes of siege artillery; and, when one thinks of it, how much school classics would gain from accurate archaeological illustrations! Here, too, is our friend *L'oncle Placide*, with sketches of Servia and Montenegro; and on the whole *Le Journal de la Jeunesse*, though quite silent about maiden overs and long-stops, seems a capital book for boys, if boys there are in England who can read French.

*La morale en action par l'histoire* (E. Muller. Hetzel) shows the value of politeness, good taste, patriotism, piety, and other virtues, as illustrated in the lives and adventures of Turenne, Cato, Henri Regnault, the brave soldier and hopeful painter, and other heroes known to fame.

*Aventures de terre et de mer* (Mayne-Reid. Hetzel) are known, and well known, to English boys. Here, in the illustrations, are Captain Mayne-Reid's heroes depicted, extraordinary to relate, up the very same trees as the heroes of Mr. Kingston's *Snow Shoes and Canoes*. How interesting is this coincidence, as proving that "great wits jump," and shoot buffaloes and cataracts, in precisely the same style.

*Les histoires de mon parrain* (P. J. Stahl. Hetzel) deserves less stiff and wooden illustrations.

Among picture-books, where almost all are diverting, *Pierre l'irrésolu* (Hachette) teaches a lofty moral lesson. Poor Pierre, a very pretty little rosy lad at first, ends by losing an ear in battle, and his money in Turks and Peruvians, because he never can make up his mind. One drawing is a little coarsely realistic; it represents a dog tearing a gentleman's raiment.

It would be pleasant to quote a number of verses from our old friend *Le roi Dagobert* (Hetzel), a monarch to whom Mme. Blaise would have been loyally attached.



*Les travaux d'Alsa* (P. J. Stahl. Hetzel) is too moral. Alsa was an officious little nuisance.

There is a touch of the grace of Blake in one of the coloured prints of *Giroflée Girofla* (Hetzel).

*Odyssée de Palaud* (Stahl. Hetzel) has lively designs by Cham. *Histoire d'un perroquet* (Stahl. Hetzel) is nearly as good as Mrs. Trimmer's *Robins*, and capably illustrated by M. Piridon. *Jocrisse et sa sœur* (Stahl. Hetzel) wakens a laugh in every page. And *Cerf agile* (Stahl. Hetzel) is the entertaining history of a French boy who imitated his favourite Red Indians, and went on the war trail.

The picture books ought not to have taken precedence of *Le livre d'un père*, an edition, in rather second-rate taste, of M. La Prade's poem. (Hetzel).

*Le petit roi* (Blandy. Hetzel) we have already noticed in the English translation, which reproduces M. Bayard's drawings.

M. Verne's *Michel Strogoff* (Hetzel) contains the adventures of a Russian messenger, and of M. Harry Blount of the *Daily Telegraph*, in wild countries north of Turkestan. The maps will be useful to young students of the Central Asian question, and the exploits of Blount and his friends are illustrated with much energy.

An entertaining and unusually well illustrated book of natural history is *Le Jardin d'Acclimatation* (Grimard. Hetzel). The artists are particularly successful when they deal with birds or depict the rich mystery of tropical vegetation.

*Nos petits camarades* (Mlle. Maréchale), *Les filles du professeur* (Mlle. Gouraud), and *Quatorze jours de bonheur* (Mme. de Stolz), Hachette, are all slight tales for young people, and may be found more entertaining than *Télémaque*; though, for choice, we prefer the classic.

#### AMERICAN LITERATURE.

A RECOGNIZED Code of International Law accepted by all Powers which can be called civilized, or which are included by common consent in the family of European nations and placed under the protection of such public law as now exists, would undoubtedly be a great boon to the world. And it is not unlikely that, by drawing up and publishing the outlines of a Code, adhering as nearly as possible to the general principles now accepted by the most advanced Powers, a jurist may contribute towards the gradual acceptance of some at least of the principal features of such a system; though it is not easy to believe that the influence which a work of this kind can exercise upon the opinion even of the country where it originates, much less throughout the world, can be at all proportionate to the labour of the compiler. But the greater the labour in proportion to the probable result, the greater and more meritorious is the service of the writer, so long as his work is of a character capable of serving to any considerable extent as the recognized embodiment of existing rules, or as a basis for a more complete and systematic public law. Mr. D. D. Field is a jurist of high character and very considerable learning in his special department; and in the compilation of the present volume\*, of which a second and carefully revised edition is now before us, he has taken the utmost pains both to devise and state with force and clearness rules applicable to the great majority of possible questions affecting the relations of independent States, and also to point out in minute detail the existing decisions, treaties, and authorities by which the proposed regulations are supported or contradicted, and the points in which they agree with or differ from the present practice of civilized nations. His book furnishes interesting reading to any one who has studied the subject, and contains an amount of information which cannot be otherwise than valuable even to well-read jurists, and exceedingly useful to all who, as journalists or politicians, have to deal from time to time with questions of international obligation or national right. His Code is of course liable to the two great difficulties attaching to every proposed system of strict public law; first, in the absence of any tribunal which could apply it, and, secondly, in the lack of power to enforce the decrees of any such tribunal except by war. Further, inasmuch as the existing principles of what is called International Law provide only for a few of the most common and obvious cases of difficulty or dispute, it is necessary for any codifier to insert a vast number of provisions which can at best only be inferences more or less remote from admitted principles or from the practice of the most advanced States. And, seeing that many States, even among the most advanced, differ diametrically upon first principles, it is impossible to construct such provisions in such a manner that they shall not constantly conflict with the strongest convictions of one, if not more, of the three or four leading communities on whose concurrence their adoption would depend. The particular nationality and the individual bias of the compiler are almost certain to affect his proposals, and to render many of them either objectionable in themselves, or at least utterly unacceptable to other countries and other schools. We think that, on the whole, Mr. Field has avoided these temptations to error as much as any single jurist undertaking a similar task could well be expected to do. Nevertheless there are a great many regulations here proposed which appear to us incompatible with that equality of nations which is laid down as a fundamental principle of the Code, or which

are likely to interfere so gravely with municipal law and with that department of morality which is inseparably connected with municipal law, and whose rules vary in different States, that their adoption would be almost as mischievous as it is improbable. We doubt whether Mr. Field has not extended his proposed international legislation too far, both in entering too much into detail, and in proposing to regulate by universal law matters which must of necessity be left to treaty between individual States, inasmuch as the greatest difference of opinion with regard to them exists among Powers of nearly equal enlightenment and moral authority. We may instance the chapter on Extradition, in which it is proposed to supersede all treaties by a general rule requiring every nation to give up offenders against the law of another who are guilty of any one of a long list of specified crimes. Such a general rule can of course take no cognizance of the different state of morality, of judicial organization, of the law of evidence, of the confidence to be reposed in tribunals in such countries as, for instance, England and Russia, Holland and Sicily. Extradition seems a matter especially fit to be settled by treaty between individual States, inasmuch as the propriety of surrender must depend greatly upon the character borne by the tribunals to whose jurisdiction the culprit is to be given up. Another example of defective proposals in this code is found in the proposed law of marriage, which would establish the principle that the *lex loci contractus* is everywhere decisive; and that no marriage valid where contracted, and no divorce valid where granted, can be upset by the law even of the country to which both parties belong. Under such a rule all special laws limiting the right of marriage between relations—laws against which there is at present much revolt, but which are strongly upheld by religious and moral opinion in the countries where they exist, as, for instance, in Roman Catholic lands and in England,—would be rendered nugatory. It would be in the power of any person able to afford a foreign journey to marry a deceased wife's sister; and, whether such marriage should or should not be lawful, it is certain that its legality should depend on English law alone, and not on the ability of the parties to travel to, and marry in, America. A different kind of weakness is perceptible in the proposed regulations on weights, measures, and money; but here the error proceeds, not from prejudice or an imperfect appreciation of the principles of jurisprudence, but from a very common, though very strange, misconception of the subject-matter. Mr. Field proposes the universal adoption of the decimal system in money and in weights and measures. He seems to suppose that the forms of arithmetic are natural and absolute, whereas the divisions of weights and measures and of the coinage of non-decimalized moneys are arbitrary. Yet it will be plain on the slightest reflection that the decimal system of arithmetical notation is just as arbitrary, and, except from long usage, by no means so convenient, as the duodecimal system on which many scales of weights and measures are constructed. It would have been at the outset just as easy to make eleven figures as nine, and in that case 10 would have signified twelve, 100 would have signified one hundred and forty-four, 1,000 would have signified seventeen hundred and twenty-eight, and so forth. The duodecimal system, admitting of division by 2, 3, and 4, is more convenient by far than the decimal system; but the inconvenience arises from the adoption of one system in arithmetical notation and the other in weights, measures, and coins. It is, however, a matter of course that numerous deficiencies, and still more numerous points of dispute, should occur in a first attempt to codify a branch of jurisprudence so uncertain, incomplete, and arbitrary as the so-called Law of Nations; and, on the whole, we have far more reason to wonder at the general soundness and coherence of Mr. Field's system than to complain of its occasional errors or defects. It is curious that at this moment, when the question of jurisdiction over foreign ships coming into collision with our own within the three-mile limit has been the subject of prolonged and anxious legal discussion and popular comment, the proposed Code seems to be nearly silent upon the subject; providing rules in regard to collisions, but not a tribunal to try them. The only distinct regulation on the subject is that which extends the territorial authority of the State to the three-mile limit, without making the exceptions to which our Courts consider that authority liable.

Mr. Polano's *Selections from the Talmud*\* will popularize a work which has hitherto been a sealed book to the general public, though very interesting to scholars. The contents as well as the language of the Talmud, the mass of rubbish in which its more valuable or more readable parts are imbedded, the quantity of minute rules, silly reasons, and absurd dogmas, laid down by men of no considerable authority, which overlay and smother passages that afford important illustrations of Jewish usage and interesting revelations of Jewish tradition, have deterred all but the most curious and diligent of students from attempting to master the work. The present volume collects, first, a variety of exceedingly interesting traditions, chiefly enlarging, filling up, or varying the Biblical histories of the Patriarchs, the Judges, Kings, and Prophets; and, secondly, a quantity of biographical and other information relative to the great Rabbis, from the time of Nehemiah or the Maccabees down to a period long subsequent to the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion of the people; together with many of their most interesting and curious sayings, some of which throw light both on the history and on the doctrine

\* *Outlines of an International Code.* By David D. Field. Second Edition. New York: Barker, Voorhis, & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

\* *Selections from the Talmud; with Brief Sketches of the Men who Made and Commented upon It.* Translated from the Original, by H. Polano. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

of the New Testament. Many of the traditional stories here related are known to the world either through their adoption in the Koran or through their quotation in various popular works. Among these we may instance the story of Abraham's conversion from the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, to that of their Maker, and not a few other anecdotes relating to him and to his son and grandsons; those affecting Abraham himself being generally of a higher and more Biblical tone than those which touch on and amplify the story of Jacob and Esau. Into these last the bitter national prejudice of the Jews against Edom infuses a spirit altogether contrary to that of the Biblical narrative, while their admiration for their ancestor, despite his by no means lofty or amiable character, imports a false morality and a low point of view into their treatment of his biography. The entire volume is exceedingly readable, and both from the variety of traditional narratives that it contains, and from the light that it throws on the beliefs and practices of the Jews at the time of the Advent, will well repay the little labour that is necessary to its full appreciation.

*Medieval and Modern Saints and Miracles*\* is a well-intended, and might have been a useful, work. The author is considerably disturbed by the progress which Romanism has made in recent years, especially in England and in the United States, unchecked and uncontrolled as it is in these countries by any of those precautions which the Governments of Catholic nations have found it necessary to provide against the encroachments on civil authority and the invasions of civil liberty attributed to the Roman Curia and to the Ultramontane ecclesiastics who now rule nearly every national branch of the Latin communion. Had he been able to keep his mind sufficiently calm to render due honour to the mediæval Church, with all its faults and vices, for the service which it rendered to human progress, to personal freedom, and to learning; had he recognized the merits and the achievements of the Jesuits as well as their crimes and the ultra-despotic character of their organization; had he been more capable of appreciating the consistency and the strict logic which underlies some of the worst follies of the present Papacy, and accounts for acts which, regarded from a practical point of view, seem mere absurdities; had he been able to speak more generously of what he calls "Mariolatry," and to understand the motives and to appreciate the feelings that have produced it, as well as the low views of religion, the feeble morality, and the intellectual weakness which it has generated, he might have rendered much greater service to the Protestant cause; and his warnings, and the unpleasant revelations contained in this little volume, might have had a fair chance of acceptance and patient consideration. But when he tells us that it is usual with the priesthood to absolve thieves if they will divide their spoils fairly with the Church; when he speaks abusively and intemperately of the Roman Church and her clergy as a whole, with little care to make just exceptions; when he repeats every story that can cast discredit upon them, and everything that can make their newly created saints ridiculous, without doing the slightest justice to the virtues and devotion which have contributed so largely to the popularity of the Roman Church in Protestant countries, and especially in his own, and without mentioning, save in passing, any one of those eminent men whose canonization has been at worst an absurdly inappropriate reward for real and substantial virtues and services to mankind, the manifest unfairness and extravagance of his statements and views deprive that part of his work which is tolerably sound of all the force it might otherwise have possessed. He means to be fair, or at least truthful, and generally quotes authority for every detailed statement; but it must be obvious to all who know anything of the real working and daily life of the Papal clergy in America that in this volume they are grossly caricatured; and those who are in danger of perversion, those who have been brought into contact with Roman Catholics of character and earnestness, those therefore who stand in most need of warning and guidance, are precisely those who will most indignantly revolt against the onesidedness of the present well-intended book.

Professor Gray's *Darwinianæ*, a collection of essays and reviews touching divers points of the Darwinian theory, has merits which do not belong to most of the works called forth by Darwin's signal discoveries and striking theories. In the first place, it is eminently fair and candid, doing full justice not only to the force of Mr. Darwin's arguments, but to the moderation and caution of his views, and repudiating indignantly the charges of Atheism and infidelity which other writers have founded, not so much on his actual language as on the supposed tendency of his influence and the consequences which appear to be derivable from his statements. Perhaps the main purpose of this volume, which gives a certain unity to its contents, and runs like a connecting thread through the fragmentary papers of which it is composed, is to show that the theory of development is in no wise inconsistent with, or even adverse to, the doctrine of creative energy and providential superintendence. We think that Professor Gray somewhat misconceives the exact bearing of the Darwinian argument upon this doctrine. It is just as easy to recognize creative intelligence working through a law of variation and development as to perceive its operation through any other method of production; and Mr.

Darwin's principle, so far as it is supported by evidence, in no way excludes the action of a Providence quite as intimately connected with and necessary to the order of nature as any theologian of the last two centuries would be disposed to assume. That the development of species has been, not by miraculous creation from nothing, but by extraordinary births, such as we ourselves have seen in a few instances, is now believed by the majority of naturalists. But the production of the present animal and vegetable world by development of this kind indicates and requires creative energy and direction working through law, just as much as any conceivable method of non-miraculous production. That part of the so-called Darwinian theory which seems to supersede creation is the infinitely graduated production of species by the accumulation, by natural selection, of an infinite series of infinitesimal variations; and it is precisely this part of the doctrine which is not sustained by evidence, and which appears contrary to all the little evidence we have. Professor Gray does not sufficiently distinguish between the first theory, which he accepts in full, and the second supplementary doctrine, which, as we understand, he is somewhat disposed to doubt. Both sides of the question, as each might be held by careful and candid men, are fairly stated and impartially argued out in some of these essays; and, on the whole, we think the volume likely to do good, by at once calming the alarm of anxious theologians and moderating the vehemence and confidence of young and extreme naturalists.

Mr. B. R. Curtis started to travel round the world immediately after graduating at Harvard, and he has laid before the public, under the title of *Dottings Round the Circle*\*, the result of his observations in journeying as rapidly as he well could through California, Japan, China, India, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and Europe, back to his home in the United States. He has little to say, however, about the western part of the Old World, and disposes of Europe in a couple of chapters. Of India and the East he has much more to write; but he saw so little, and had so brief a time to observe what he did see, and the ground over which he passed has been so frequently traversed and so fully described, that he has little or nothing new to tell us. He excuses his comparative silence about Europe because so much has been written on the subject. For the same reason he might have suppressed nearly all that he has said about Asia; his "panoramic picture" of the chief countries of that continent being both coarsely painted and absolutely devoid of originality.

Dr. Jordan's *Manual of the Vertebrates of the United States*† is a thoroughly technical and exceedingly dry work; rather a list of species arranged under their respective orders, with exceedingly brief technical notes respecting the physiological peculiarities of each, than an account, however condensed, of those characters which are interesting to the young beginners in natural history, for whom alone a manual of this kind can be necessary.

Mr. Pedder's *Issues of the Age*‡ are chiefly those brought about by the conflict of the scientific method of thought that has grown up during the last century and a half with that theological and deductive method which belonged to former ages, and the consequent disturbance of men's fundamental ideas on topics of the deepest interest and importance. The author is entirely on the side of science, but anxious to qualify the conclusions drawn by her extreme partisans as by her bitterest opponents, in so far at least as to reconcile scientific certainties and probabilities with the belief in providential government, and in an immaterial and immortal spirit. The same ground has been trodden so often, and with so little result, that it is not in a very hopeful temper that we open a work of this character; and though Mr. Pedder is a careful and diligent thinker, and a conscientious and painstaking writer, we cannot say that his work has achieved much more than previous experience had led us to anticipate when we opened it.

Mrs. Monroe tells *The Story of Our Country*§ somewhat in the same form in which Mrs. Markham's *History of England*, so familiar to the childhood of the present generation, was arranged; the history being told in conversational form by a mother to her children, with comments and questions by the latter, drawing forth explanations and illustrative anecdotes. The author does not appear to be qualified by very thorough knowledge for the task she has undertaken. Her view of the revolutionary war, and of the circumstances which led to it, is as one-sided and unfair as are nearly all American histories; and her ignorance of English law and social arrangements is strikingly exemplified in the statement that a poor man in England cannot own land. A writer who does not apprehend the conditions, partly due to the material circumstances of a new country, to which America owes the facility of accumulating wealth, and the independence enjoyed by the majority of the people, can hardly give an instructive or useful view even of the most general features of American history and politics.

Mr. Atwood's drawings and descriptions of American home-

\* *Dottings Round the Circle*. By Benjamin Robbins Curtis. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

† *Manual of the Vertebrate Animals of the United States*. By David Starr Jordan, M.S., M.D., Professor of Natural History. Chicago: McClurg & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

‡ *Issues of the Age; or, Consequences Involved in Modern Thought*. By Henry C. Pedder. New York: Butts & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

§ *The Story of Our Country*. By Mrs. Lewis B. Monroe. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks, & Co. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

\* *Medieval and Modern Saints and Miracles*. New York: Harper and Brothers. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

† *Darwinianæ: Essays and Reviews pertaining to Darwinism*. By Asa Gray, Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University. New York: Appleton & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.



steads\* are interesting as showing the difference between English and Transatlantic domestic buildings, arising very much out of the different conditions of life in the two countries. Americans are of course much more used to build or purchase their own houses than Englishmen, comparatively few being rented, except in the large towns. They build, moreover, especially in the country, chiefly of wood. The plan of construction of all dwellings except the largest is governed mainly by the difficulty of finding, and the expense of keeping, domestic servants; rendering it necessary to have as few rooms as possible, and to make the kitchens and other offices near to and easily accessible from the living rooms. The manner in which American houses are adapted to these conditions is well worth notice, and may be seen in the great majority of plans and drawings which occupy the larger part of this volume.

Dr. Rosenberg's account of *The Use of the Spectroscope*† does not deal with the science of optics or the principles of light analysis so much as with the practical construction and uses, especially for chemical and medical purposes, of the last devised of important scientific instruments. But for this very reason it may perhaps be more serviceable to those amateurs who wish to use the spectroscope, but are unfamiliar with its construction and method of employment, than the more scientific treatises accessible to the general English reader.

The journey from New York to San Francisco is about the longest continuous railway journey on the face of the globe, and one of the most interesting, alike from the variety of the scenery, from the grandeur of its natural features, and from the wonderful achievements of engineering of which the road—especially that part of it which crosses the Rocky Mountains—affords so many signal examples. Mr. Williams's Guide‡ is somewhat fuller and more complete than most of its competitors, and may be worth a cursory glance even to those who have no immediate intention or prospect of making the journey.

Mr. Corbett's Treatise on the Poultry Yard and Market§ would hardly deserve notice in these columns for its general remarks on a matter of trade and special department of farming. But it derives a peculiar interest from the new method of hatching and breeding chickens worked out and elaborately described by the author. The invention of this method he ascribes to Reaumur, well known as the inventor of the thermometer or thermometrical scale chiefly used in Germany. This eminent scientific thinker seems to have applied his knowledge of heat and its laws to the practical rearing of poultry, and his system depends on the generation of heat by decaying manure of particular kinds. In the apparatus used by Mr. Corbett the eggs are hatched in a box placed in the midst of a manure heap; and the chickens, when hatched, are kept warm and reared in a somewhat similar apparatus, heated by the same agency. The author claims for his method more practical success than has been obtained by any other artificial hatching machine; but from his own account it would seem that more depends upon the personal skill and experience of the chicken-farmer than upon the form of apparatus employed.

The work entitled *A Century of American Medicine*|| gives an account of medical, chemical, and therapeutic discoveries made by American doctors during the last hundred years; of the principal operations first performed or most largely employed beyond the Atlantic; and generally of the progress of Transatlantic medicine and medical science since the Declaration of Independence.

Miss Underwood's *Heroines of Free Thought*¶ are, as might have been expected from the title, by no means generally amiable or attractive. All the writer's sympathy with them will hardly win approval for their doctrines or admiration for their character from the general reader, and some among them will hardly be grateful for the admiration which has placed them in the company in which they here find themselves. They are chiefly distinguished as a class for their hostility, displayed either in argument, in illustrative fiction, or in practice, to those social and moral laws by which the weakness of their sex is sheltered, its dignity maintained, and its purity protected. And whatever may be the motives of their action, and whatever their own capacity to dispense with the restraints and shelter which the universal experience of mankind has pronounced necessary to women in general, they have, in making their own conscious needs and their own characters the standard for womanhood, generally done little else than pure mischief.

Mr. Weiss's *Wit, Humour, and Shakspeare*\*\* is one of the innumerable commentaries, partial and general, which the works of the most famous of modern dramatists have generated, and for

which, we suppose, there is a demand proportioned to their number. For our own part, we have read so many essays on every Shakspearian play and character, from almost every conceivable point of view, that we can hardly find in any volume much that is new or striking on the subject, nor is Mr. Weiss's work an exception to the rule.

Mrs. Thacher's *Sea Shore and Prairie*\*, a volume of the Miniature Series published by Messrs. Osgood, consists of a series of lively sketches of life in different parts of the United States, principally taken from the writer's personal knowledge and experience. This book is readable and entertaining, if in no way striking nor possessing any deep interest.

Mr. Bayard Taylor is a writer of considerable power, but more remarkable for fluency and grace of expression than for vigour. Nevertheless, his *Boys of Other Countries*† is written with spirit, and is likely to be grateful to the young Americans for whom it is intended, and probably not less acceptable to their English contemporaries. Miss Harland, well known as a writer of sentimental fiction, some of whose works have been by no means unsuccessful, gives to the world a new story of the same character, under the title of *My Little Love*‡. Mrs. Warfield's *Lady Ernestine*§ belongs to a more common, but somewhat lower, order of sensational or adventurous fiction; but may find as many readers and appreciators, if it does not merit so much approval from critics of taste and judgment.

We have on our monthly list a considerable number of volumes of poetry, among which the most striking is a splendid illustrated edition of Longfellow's *Skeleton in Armor*||, a spirited piece with which most of our readers must be well acquainted, which has here been made the text, or pretext, for a multitude of very spirited and striking drawings. As a Christmas gift-book few works of the class could be more acceptable or more permanently valuable. To the "No Name" Series, a set of anonymous works contributed by authors of reputation, whose names, for some incomprehensible reason, are to be concealed, belongs *Deirdre*¶, a poem illustrating and amplifying one of the many legends of savage war and revenge which constitute the main part, if not the whole, of the traditional story of Ireland in prehistoric times. We have also a number of *Poems of Places*\*\*, little volumes edited by Mr. Longfellow, describing the character, scenery, and celebrated sites of various countries and districts; and also in the same series a new edition of *Emerson's Poems*††, the earliest and not by any means the most incomprehensible production of that mystic, harsh, condensed school of poetry which has become so prominent within the last quarter of a century.

\* *Sea Shore and Prairie*. By Mary P. Thacher. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

† *Boys of Other Countries: Stories for American Boys*. By Bayard Taylor. Illustrated. New York: Putnam's Sons. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

‡ *My Little Love*. By Marion Harland, Author of "Alone," "The Hidden Path," &c. New York: Carleton & Co. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

§ *Lady Ernestine; or, the Absent Lord of Rochefort*. By Mrs. Catharine A. Warfield, Author of "The Household of Bouverie," &c. Philadelphia: Peterson & Brothers. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

|| *The Skeleton in Armor*. By Henry Longfellow. With Illustrations. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

¶ *Deirdre*. No Name Series. Boston: Roberts Brothers. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

\*\* *Poems of Places*. Edited by H. W. Longfellow. England and Wales, 2 vols. Ireland, 1 vol. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

†† *Emerson's Poems*. Miniature Edition. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

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\* *Modern American Homesteads*. By Daniel T. Atwood, Architect. Illustrated. New York: Bicknell & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

† *The Use of the Spectroscope in its Application to Scientific and Practical Medicine*. By Emil Rosenberg, M.D. Illustrated. New York: Putnam's Sons. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

‡ *The Pacific Tourist: a Transatlantic Guide of Travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean*. By Henry D. Williams. Illustrated. New York: Henry D. Williams. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

§ *The Poultry Yard and Market: a Practical Treatise on Galliniculture*. By Professor A. Corbett. New York: Orange Judd Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

|| *A Century of American Medicine, 1776 to 1876*. By E. H. Clarke, M.D., H. J. Bigelow, M.D., &c. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

¶ *Heroines of Free Thought*. By Sara A. Underwood. New York: C. P. Somerby. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

\*\* *Wit, Humour, and Shakspeare*. Twelve Essays. By John Weiss. Boston: Roberts Brothers. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

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## UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.—The following are the Dates

at which the several EXAMINATIONS in the UNIVERSITY OF LONDON for the Year 1877 will commence:

- Matriculation ..... Monday, January 8, and Monday, June 25.  
Bachelor of Arts ..... First B.A., Monday, July 16.  
Master of Arts ..... Second B.A., Monday, October 22.  
Branch I., Monday, June 4; Branch II., Monday, June 11;  
Branch III., Monday, June 18.  
Doctor of Literature ..... First D. Lit., Monday, June 4.  
Second D. Lit., Tuesday, December 4.  
Scriptural Examinations ..... Tuesday, November 20.  
Bachelor of Science ..... First B.Sc., Monday, July 16.  
Second B.Sc., Monday, October 22.  
Doctor of Science ..... Within the first Twenty-one days of June.  
Bachelor of Laws ..... First LL.B., Monday, January 8.  
Second LL.B., Thursday, January 18.  
Doctor of Laws ..... Preliminary Scientific, Monday, July 16.  
Bachelor of Medicine ..... First M.B., Monday, July 30.  
Second M.B., Monday, November 5.  
Bachelor of Surgery ..... Tuesday, November 27.  
Master in Surgery ..... Monday, November 26.  
Doctor of Medicine ..... Monday, November 26.  
Subjects relating to Public Health ..... Monday, December 10.  
Examination for Women ..... Monday, June 4.

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December 23, 1876.

WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, M.D., Registrar.

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